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WYCLIFFE *to* CLARENDON

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to provide, for occasional reading, selections, complete and interesting in themselves, from the works of our great prose writers, and, incidentally, to illustrate the development of English Prose. The selections are intended for readers of all classes and of all ages; for 'general readers' as well as students, and for young as well as old. My aim will, I think, be best accomplished by the preference—though by no means an exclusive preference—given to narrative and descriptive prose, the prose of action and incident, of romance and adventure, and by the maintenance, in the choice of the writers and works represented, of a high standard of style.

The inclusion of prose drama will, it is thought, prove a distinctive feature.

I have begun with the fourteenth century, the age of Chaucer and Wycliffe, since that period may be taken as dating the settlement of the language in what, with slight differences, is its present form. Living writers are not represented, their exclusion being due to difficulties of copyright and certain other considerations.

No attempt has been made to observe any common standard of length in making the selections.

In the earlier extracts, the spelling where necessary has been modernized and a note

appended to obsolete words and phrases. But for the benefit of those young students desirous of knowing how English was written and spelt in the fourteenth century, the starting-point of the anthology, the printers have set up in the original spelling, &c., the parable of the Prodigal Son and the narrative of Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre from the translation of the New Testament known as Wycliffe's. Further, for the purpose of illustrating in a convenient form the growth and development of the language, the corresponding passages from Tyndale's translation of 1534 and from the Authorized Version of 1611 have been inserted as they originally appeared. The same passages according to the Revised Version of 1881 have also been given. In addition, one of Addison's papers from the *Spectator* is printed as it appeared in the original sheet in 1711. Thus the reader will have before him specimens of how English was spelt and written at the end of the fourteenth century, the middle of the sixteenth century, the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In compiling the present work, I must express my particular indebtedness to those two great storehouses of criticisms of, and of selections from, the works of our great writers, 'Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature', edited by Dr. David Patrick, and 'English Prose Selections', edited by

Sir Henry Craik. The various other books, whether anthologies or works of criticism, to which I am indebted are too numerous for separate mention.

I hope the present selections will appeal to those readers who have used my earlier volumes, the book of 'Selected English Essays' and the earlier book of 'English Prose'.

W. P.

10 The Avenue,
Kew Gardens.

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JOHN WYCLIFFE

1324—1384

THE BEATITUDES

And Jesus seeing the people, went up in to an hill, and when he was set, his disciples camen to him, and he opened his mouth and taught them and said: Blessed be poor men in spirit: for the kingdom of heaven is theirn. Blessed be mild men: for they shallen weeld[1] the earth. Blessed be they that mournen: for they shallen be comforted. Blessed be they that hungren and thirsten [for] righteousness: for they shallen be fulfilled. Blessed be merciful men: for they shallen get mercy. Blessed be they that be of clean heart: for they shallen see God. Blessed be peaceable men: for they shallen be clepid[2] Goddes children. Blessed be they that suffren persecution for righteousness: for the kingdom of heaven is theirn. Ye shallen be blessed when men shallen curse you and shallen pursue you, and shallen say all evil against you lying[3] for me. Joy ye and be ye glad, for your mede[4] is plenteous in heaven, for so they han pursued prophets that weren also before you.—*Translation of St. Matthew's Gospel.*

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON[5]

And he seide, A man hadde twei sones; and the ȝonger of hem seide to the fadir, Fadir, ȝyue[6] me the porcioun of catel[7], that fallith to me. And he departide to hem the catel. And not aftir many

[1] wield, govern. [2] called. [3] falsely. [4] reward. [5] The spelling in this and the extract following has not been modernized (see Preface). [6] give. [7] goods.

daies, whanne alle thingis weren gederid togider, the ȝonger sone wente forth in pilgrymage in to a fer cuntre; and there he wastide hise goodis in lyuynge lecherously. And aftir that he hadde endid alle thingis, a strong hungre was maad in that cuntre, and he bigan to haue nede. And he wente, and drouȝ[1] hym to oon of the citeseyns of that cuntre. And he sente hym in to his toun, to fede swyn. And he coueitide to fille his wombe of the coddis[2] that the hoggis eeten, and no man ȝaf hym. And he turnede aȝen[3] to hym silf, and seide, Hou many hirid men in my fadir hous han plente of looues; and Y perische here thorouȝ hungir. Y schal rise vp, and go to my fadir, and Y schal seie to hym, Fadir, Y haue synned in to heuene, and bifor thee; and now Y am not worthi to be clepid thi sone, make me as oon of thin hirid men. And he roos vp, and cam to his fadir. And whanne he was ȝit afer, his fadir saiȝ hym, and was stirrid bi mercy. And he ran, and fel on his necke, and kisside hym. And the sone seide to hym, Fadir, Y haue synned in to heuene, and bifor thee; and now Y am not worthi to be clepid thi sone. And the fadir seide to hise seruauntis, Swithe[4] brynge ȝe forth the firste stoole[5], and clothe ȝe hym, and ȝyue ȝe a ryng in his hoond, and schoon on hise feet; and brynge ȝe a fat calf, and sle ȝe, and ete we, and make we feeste. For this my sone was deed, and hath lyued aȝen; he perischid, and is foundun. And alle men bigunnen to ete. But his eldere sone was in the feeld; and whanne he cam, and neiȝede[6] to the hous, he herde a symfonye and a croude.

[1] drew. [2] husks. [3] again. [4] quickly.
[5] best garment. [6] drew near.

And he clepide[1] oon of the seruauntis, and axide, what these thingis weren. And he seide to hym, Thi brother is comun, and thi fadir slewe a fat calf, for he resseyuede hym saaf. And he was wrooth, and wolde not come in. Therfor his fadir wente out, and bigan to preye hym. And he answerde to his fadir, and seide, Lo! so many ȝeeris Y serue thee, and Y neuer brak thi comaundement; and thou neuer ȝaf to me a kidde, that Y with my freendis schulde haue ete. But aftir that this thi sone, that hath deuourid his substaunce with horis, cam, thou hast slayn to hym a fat calf. And he seide to hym, Sone, thou art euer more with me, and alle my thingis ben thine. But it bihofte for to make feeste, and to haue ioye; for this thi brother was deed, and lyuede aȝen; he perischide, and is foundun.—*Translation of St. Luke's Gospel.*

MARY MAGDALENE AT THE SEPULCHRE

But Marie stood at the graue with outforth wepynge. And the while sche wepte, sche bowide hir, and bihelde forth in to the graue. And sche sai twei aungels sittinge in white, oon at the heed and oon at the feet, where the bodi of Jhesu was leid. And thei seien to hir, Womman, what wepist thou? Sche seide to hem, For thei han take awei my lord, and Y woot[2] not, where thei han leid him. Whanne sche hadde seid these thingis, sche turnede bacward, and sai Jhesu stondinge, and wiste[3] not that it was Jhesu. Jhesus seith to hir, Womman, what wepist thou? whom sekist thou? She gessynge that he was a gardynere,

[1] called. [2] know. [3] knew.

seith to him, Sire, if thou hast takun him vp, seie to me, where thou hast leid him, and Y schal take hym awei. Jhesus seith to hir, Marie. Sche turnede, and seith to hym, Rabony, that is to seie, Maister.—*Translation of St. John's Gospel.*

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE

Fourteenth Century

THE VALLEY PERILOUS

Beside that Isle of Mistorak, upon the left side, nigh to the river of Pison, is a marvellous thing. There is a vale between the mountains, that dureth [1] nigh a four mile; and some men clepen [2] it the Vale Enchanted, some clepen it the Vale of Devils, and some clepen it the Vale Perilous. In that vale heren men often-time great tempests and thunders and great murmurs and noises, all days and nights, and great noise, as it were sown [3] of tabors and of nakers [4] and trumps,[5] as though it were of a great feast. This vale is all full of devils, and hath been always. And men seyn there, that it is one of the entries of hell. In that vale is great plenty of gold and silver: wherefore many misbelieving men, and many Christian men also, go in oftentime for to have of the treasure that there is; but few comen again, and namely of the misbelieving men, ne of the Christian men neither, for they ben anon strangled of devils.

[1] lasts, extends. [2] call. [3] sound.
[4] drums. [5] trumpets.

And in mid place of that vale, under a rock, is an head and the visage of a devil bodily, full horrible and dreadful to see, and it sheweth not but the head, to the shoulders. But there is no man in the world so hardy, Christian man ne other, but that he would ben adread to behold it, and that it would semen him to die for dread, so is it hideous for to behold. For he beholdeth every man so sharply with dreadful eyen, that ben evermore moving and sparkling as fire, and changeth and stirreth so often in diverse manner, with so horrible countenance, that no man dare not nighen towards him. And fro him cometh out smoke and stink and fire and so much abomination, that unnethe [1] no man may there endure.

But the good Christian men, that ben stable in the faith, enter well withouten peril. For they will first shriven them and marken them with the token of the holy cross, so that the fiends ne han no power over them. But albeit that they ben withouten peril, yet, natheles, ne ben they not withouten dread, when that they seen the devils visibly and bodily all about them, that maken full many diverse assaults and menaces, in air and in earth, and aghasten them with strokes of thunderblasts and of tempests. And the most dread is, that God will take vengeance then of that men han misdone against his will.

And ye shall understand, that when my fellows and I weren in that vale, we weren in great thought, whether that we dursten putten our bodies in adventure, to go in or not, in the protection of God. And some of our fellows accordeden [2] to enter, and some not. So there weren

[1] scarcely. [2] agreed.

with us two worthy men, friar minors, that weren of Lombardy, that saiden, that if any man would entren they would gon in with us. And when they hadden said so, upon the gracious trust of God and of them, we let sing mass, and made every man to ben shriven and houseled [1]. And then we entreden fourteen persons; but at our going out we weren but nine. And so we wisten never, whether that our fellows weren lost, or else turned again for dread. But we ne saw them never after; and tho weren two men of Greece, and three of Spain. And our other fellows that woulden not go in with us, they wenten by another coast to ben before us, and so they were.

And thus we passeden that perilous vale, and founden therein gold and silver, and precious stones and rich jewels, great plenty, both here and there, as us seemed: but whether that it was, as us seemed, I wot nere: for I touched none, because that the devils ben so subtle to make a thing to seem otherwise than it is, for to deceive mankind. And therefore I touched none, and also because that I would not ben put out of my devotion; for I was more devout then, than ever I was before or after, and all for the dread of fiends that I saw in diverse figures, and also for the great multitude of dead bodies, that I saw there lying by the way, by all the vale, as though there had been a battle between two kings, and the mightiest of the country, and that the greater party had been discomfited and slain. And I trow, that unnethe should any country have so much people within him, as lay slain in that vale, as us thought, the which was an hideous

[1] receive Communion.

sight to seen. And I marvelled much, that there weren so many, and the bodies all whole withouten rotting. But I trow, that fiends made them seemen to ben so whole withouten rotting. But that might not ben to mine advice that so many should have entered so newly, ne so many newly slain, withouten stinking and rotting. And many of them weren in habit of Christian men, but I trow well, that it weren of such that wenten in for covetise of the treasure that was there, and hadden overmuch feebleness in faith; so that their hearts ne might not enduren in the belief for dread. And therefore weren we the more devout a great deal and yet we weren cast down, and beaten down many times to the hard earth by winds and thunders and tempests. But evermore God of his grace halp us: and so we passed that perilous vale withouten peril and withouten encumbrance. Thanked be Almighty God.—*The Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville.*

THE GREAT CHAN OF CATHAY

Cathay is a great country and a fair, noble and rich, and full of merchants. Thither gon merchants all years for to seeken spices and all manner of merchandises, more commonly than in any other party. And ye shall understand, that merchants that comen fro Genoa or fro Venice or fro Romany or other parts of Lombardy, they gon be sea and be land eleven months or twelve, or more sometime, or they may come to the isle of Cathay that is the principal region of all parties beyond; and it is of the great Chan.

Fro Cathay go men toward the east be many journeys. And then men finden a good city between these other, that men clepen Sugarmago. That city is one of the best stored of silk and other merchandises that is in the world. After go men yet to another old city toward the east: and it is in the province of Cathay. And beside that city the men of Tartary han let make another city that is clept Caydon. And it hath twelve gates, and between the two gates there is always a great mile; so that the two cities, that is to sayn, the old and the new, han in circuit more than twenty mile. In this city is the siege [1] of the great Chan in a full great palace and the most passing fair in all the world, of the which the walls ben in circuit more than two mile. And within the walls it is all full of other palaces. And in the garden of the great palace there is a great hill, upon the which there is another palace; and it is the most fair and the most rich that any man may devise. And all about the palace and the hill ben many trees bearing many diverse fruits. And all about that hill ben ditches great and deep, and beside them ben great vivaries on that one part and on that other. And there is a full fair bridge to pass over the ditches. And in these vivaries ben so many wild geese and ganders and wild ducks and swans and herons that it is withouten number. And all about these ditches and vivaries is the great garden full of wild beasts. So that when the great Chan will have any disport on that, to taken any of the wild beasts or of the fowls, he will let chase them and taken them at the windows, withouten going out of his chamber.

[1] seat.

This palace, where his siege is, is both great and passing fair. And within the palace, in the hall, there ben twenty-four pillars of fine gold. And all the walls ben covered within of red skins of beasts that men clepen[1] panthers, that ben fair beasts and well smelling; so that for the sweet odour of tho skins non evil air may enter into the palace. Tho skins ben as red as blood, and they shinen so bright against the sun, that unnethe no man may beholden them. And many folk worshipen tho beasts, when they meeten them first at morwe[2], for their great virtue and for the good smell that they han: and tho skins they prize more than though they were plate of fine gold.

And in the mids of this palace is the mountour[3] for the great Chan, that is all wrought of gold and of precious stones and great pearls: and at four corners of the mountour ben four serpents of gold: and all about there is y-made large nets of silk and gold and great pearls hanging all about the mountour. And under the mountour ben conduits of beverage that they drinken in the emperor's court. And beside the conduits ben many vessels of gold, be the which they that ben of household drinken at the conduit.

And the hall of the palace is full nobly arrayed, and full marvellously attired on all parts in all things that men apparel with any hall. And first, at the chief of the hall, is the emperor's throne, full high, where he sitteth at the meat: and that is of fine precious stones, bordered all about with pured gold and precious stones, and great pearls. And the grees[4] that he goeth up to the table be of precious stones meddled with gold. And at the

[1] call. [2] morrow. [3] reservoir of drink. [4] steps.

left side of the emperor's siege is the siege of his first wife, one degree lower than the emperor; and it is of jasper, bordered with gold and precious stones. And the siege of his second wife is also another siege, more lower than his first wife; and it is also of jasper, bordered with gold, as that other is. And the siege of the third wife is also more low, by a degree, than the second wife. For he hath always three wives with him, where that ever he be.

And after his wives, on the same side, sitten the ladies of his lineage yet lower, after that they ben of estate. And all tho that ben married han a counterfeit made like a man's foot upon their heads, a cubit long, all wrought with great pearls, fine and orient, and aboven made with peacocks' feathers and of other shining feathers; and that stont upon their heads like a crest, in token that they ben under man's foot and under subjection of man. And they that ben unmarried han none such.

And after at the right side of the emperor first sitteth his eldest son that shall reign after him. And he sitteth also one degree lower than the emperor, in such manner of sieges as don the empresses. And after him sitten other great lords of his lineage, every of them a degree lower than the other, as they ben of estate.

And the emperor hath his table alone be himself, that is of gold and of precious stones, or of crystal, bordered with gold, and full of precious stones or of amethysts or of lignum aloes that cometh out of paradise, or of ivory bounden or bordered with gold. And everych of his wives hath also her table be herself. And his eldest son

and the other lords also, and the ladies, and all that sitten with the emperor han tables alone be themself, full rich. And there nis no table but that it is worth an huge treasure of gold.

And under the emperor's table sitten four clerks that written all that the emperor saith, be it good, be it evil; for all that he saith must ben holden, for he may not changen his word, ne revoke it.

At great solemn feasts before the emperor's table men bringen great tables of gold, and thereon ben peacocks of gold, and many other manner of diverse fowls, all of gold and richly wrought and enamelled. And men maken them dancen and singen, clapping their wings together, and maken great noise. And whether it be by craft or be necromancy I wot nere; but it is a good sight to behold, and a fair; and it is great marvel how it may be. But I have the less marvel, because that they ben the most subtle men in all sciences and in all crafts that ben in the world. For of subtlety and of malice and of farcasting they passen all men under heaven. And therefore they sayn themselves, that they seen with two eyen and the Christian men see but with one, because that they ben more subtle than they. For all other nations, they sayn, ben but blind in cunning and working in comparison to them. I did great business for to have learned that craft, but the master told me that he had made a vow to his god to teach it to no creature, but only to his eldest son.

Also above the emperor's table and the other tables, and aboven a great party in the hall, is a vine made of fine gold. And it spreadeth all

about the hall: and it hath many clusters of grapes, some white, some green, some yellow and some red and some black, all of precious stones. The white ben of crystal and of beryl and of iris; the yellow ben of topazes; the red ben of rubies and of grenaz[1] and of alabrandines[2]; the green ben of emeralds, of perydoz[3] and of chrysolites; and the black ben of onyx and garantez[3]. And they ben all so properly made that it seemeth a very vine bearing kindly grapes.

And before the emperor's table standen great lords and rich barons and other that serven the emperor at the meat. And no man is so hardy to speak a word, but if the emperor speak to him; but if it be minstrels that singen songs and tellen gestes[4] or other disports, to solace with the emperor. And all the vessel that men ben served with in the hall or in chambers ben of precious stones, and specially at great tables either of jasper or of crystal or of amethysts or of fine gold. And the cups ben of emeralds and of sapphires, or of topazes, of perydoz, and of many other precious stones. Vessel of silver is there none, for they tell no price thereof to make no vessel of: but they maken thereof grecings[5] and pillars and pavements to halls and chambers. And before the hall door standen many barons and knights clean armed to keep that no man enter, but if it be the will or the commandment of the emperor, or but if they be servants or minstrel of the household; and other none is not so hardy to neighen nigh the hall door.

And ye shall understand, that my fellows and

[1] garnets. [2] almandines. [3] various jewels.
[4] tales. [5] steps.

I with our yeomen, we serveden this emperor, and weren his soldiers fifteen months against the King of Mancy, that held war against him. And the cause was for we hadden great lust to see his noblesse and the estate of his court and all his governance, to wit if it were such as we heard say that it was. And truly we found it more noble and more excellent, and richer and more marvellous, than ever we heard speak of, insomuch that we would never han lieved [1] it had we not seen it. For I trow, that no man would believe the noblesse, the richesse ne the multitude of folk that ben in his court, but he had seen it; for it is not there as it is here. For the lords here han folk of certain number as they may suffice; but the great Chan hath every day folk at his costage and expenses as withouten number. But the ordinance, ne the expenses in meat and drink, ne the honesty, ne the cleanness, is not so arrayed there as it is here; for all the commons there eaten withouten cloth upon their knees, and they eaten all manner of flesh and little of bread. And after meat they wipen their hands upon their skirts, and they eaten not but once a day. But the estate of lords is full great and rich and noble.

And albeit that some men will not trow me, but holden it for fable to tell them the noblesse of his person and of his estate and of his court and of the great multitude of folk that he holt, natheles [2] I shall say you a party of him and of his folk, after that I have seen the manner and the ordinance full many a time. And whoso that will may lieve me if he will, and whoso will not, may choose. . . .

First I shall say you why he was clept [3] the

[1] believed. [2] nevertheless. [3] called.

great Chan. Ye shall understand, that all the world was destroyed be Noe's flood, save only Noe and his wife and his children. Noe had three sons, Shem, Cham, and Japhet. This Cham was he that saw his father's privy members naked when he slept, and scorned them, and shewed them with his finger to his brethren in scorning wise: and therefore he was cursed of God. And Japhet turned his face away and covered them.

These three brethren had seisin in all the land. And this Cham, for his cruelty, took the greater and the best party, toward the east, that is clept Asia, and Shem took Africk, and Japhet took Europe. And therefore is all the earth parted in these three parties be these three brethren. Cham was the greatest and the most mighty, and of him camen mo generations thàn of the other. And of his son Chuse was engendered Nimrod the giant, that was the first king that ever was in the world; and he began the foundation of the tower of Babylon. And that time, the fiends of hell camen many times and layen with the women of his generation and engendered on them diverse folk, as monsters and folk disfigured, some withouten heads, some with great ears, some with one eye, some giants, some with horse feet, and many other diverse shape against kind. And of that generation of Cham ben comen the Paynims and divers folk that ben in isles of the sea be all Ind. And forasmuch as he was the most mighty, and no man might withstand him, he cleped himself the Son of God and sovereign of all the world. And for this Cham, this emperor clepeth him Cham, and sovereign of all the world.

And of the generation of Shem ben comen the

Saracens. And of the generation of Japhet is comen the people of Israel. And though that we dwellen in Europe, this is the opinion, that the Syrians and the Samaritans han among them. And that they told me, before that I went toward Ind, but I found it otherwise. Natheles, the sooth[1] is this, that Tartars and they that dwellen in the great Asia, they camen of Cham; but the Emperor of Cathay clepeth him not Cham, but Can, and I shall tell you how.

It is but little more but eight score year that all Tartary was in subjection and in servage to other nations abouten: for they weren but bestial folk and diden nothing but kepten beasts and led them to pastures. But among them they hadden seven principal nations that weren sovereigns of them all: of the which, the first nation or lineage was clept Tartar, and that is the most noble and the most prized. The second lineage is clept Tanghot, the third Eurache, the fourth Valair, the fifth Semoche, the sixth Megly, the seventh Coboghe.

Now befell it so that of the first lineage succeeded an old worthy man that was not rich, that had to name Changuys. This man lay upon a night in his bed. And he saw in a vision, that there came before him a knight armed all in white, and he sat upon a white horse, and said to him, Can, sleepest thou? The immortal God hath sent me to thee, and it is his will, that thou go to the seven lineages and say to them that thou shalt ben their emperor. For thou shalt conquer the lands and the countries that be abouten, and they that marchen upon you shall ben under your

[1] truth.

subjection, as ye have been under theirs, for that is God's will immortal.

And when he came at morwe, Changuys rose, and went to the seven lineages, and told them how the white knight had said. And they scorned him, and saiden that he was a fool; and so he departed fro them all ashamed. And the night ensuing, this white knight came to the seven lineages, and commanded them on God's behalf immortal, that they should make this Changuys their emperor, and they should ben out of subjection, and they should holden all other regions about them in their servage as they had been to them beforn. And on the morwe, they chosen him to ben their emperor. And they setten him upon a black fertre[1], and after that they liften him up with great solemnity. And they setten him in a chair of gold and didden him all manner of reverence, and they cleped him Chan, as the white knight called him.

And when he was thus chosen, he would assayen if he might trust in them or none, and whether they would ben obeissant to him or none. And then he made many statutes and ordinances that they clepen *Ysya Chan*. The first statute was, that they should believen and obeyen in God Immortal, that is Almighty, that would casten them out of servage, and at all times clepe to him for help in time of need. The tother statute was, that all manner of men that might baren arms shoulden ben numbered, and to every ten should ben a master, and to every hundred a master, and to every thousand a master, and to every ten thousand a master. After he commanded to the

[1] litter.

principals of the seven lineages, that they should leaven and forsaken all that they hadden in goods and heritage, and fro thenceforth to holden them paid of that that he would give them of his grace. And they didden so anon. After he commanded to the principals of the seven lineages, that every of them should bring his eldest son before him, and with their own hands smiten off their heads withouten tarrying. And anon his commandment was performed.

And when the Chan saw that they made none obstacle to performen his commandment, then he thought well that he might trusten in them, and commanded them anon to make them ready and to suen[1] his banner. And after this, Chan put in subjection all the lands about him.

Afterward it befell upon a day, that the Chan rode with a few meinie[2] for to behold the strength of the country that he had wonnen: and so befell, that a great multitude of his enemies metten with him. And for to given good example of hardiness to his people, he was the first that fought, and in the mids of his enemies encountered, and there he was cast from his horse, and his horse slain. And when his folk saw him at the earth, they weren all abashed, and wenden he had been dead, and flewen every one, and their enemies after and chased them, but they wist not that the emperor was there. And when they weren comen again fro the chase, they wenten and soughten the woods if any of them had been hid in the thick of the woods; and many they founden and slewen them anon. So it happened that as they wenten searching toward the place

[1] follow. [2] small following.

that the emperor was, they saw an owl sitting upon a tree above him; and then they saiden amongst them, that there was no man because that they saw that bird there, and so they wenten their way; and thus escaped the emperor from death. And then he went privily all be night, till he came to his folk that weren full glad of his coming, and maden great thankings to God immortal, and to that bird be whom their lord was saved. And therefore principally aboven all fowls of world they worshippen the owl; and when they han any of their feathers, they keepen them full preciously instead of relics, and bearen them upon their heads with great reverence; and they holden themselves blessed and safe from all perils while that they han them upon them, and therefore they bearen their feathers upon their heads.

After all this the Chan ordained him, and assembled his people, and went upon them that hadden assailed him before, and destroyed them, and put them in subjection and servage. And when he had wonnen and put all the lands and countries on this half the Mount Belian in subjection, the white knight came to him again in his sleep, and said to him, Chan! the will of God immortal is that thou pass the Mount Belian, and thou shalt win the land and thou shalt putten many nations in subjection. And for thou shalt find no good passage for to go toward that country, go [to] the Mount Belian that is upon the sea, and kneel there nine times toward the east in the worship of God immortal, and he shall shew the way to pass by. And the Chan did so. And anon the sea that touched and was fast to the mount began to withdraw him, and shewed fair

way of nine foot breadth large ; and so he passed with his folk, and won the land of Cathay that is the greatest kingdom of the world.

And for the nine kneelings and for the nine foot of way the Chan and all the men of Tartary han the number of nine in great reverence. And therefore who that will make the Chan any present, be it of horse, be it of birds, or of arrows, or bows, or of fruit, or of any other thing, always he must make it of the number of nine. And so then ben the presents of greater pleasance to him ; and more benignly he will receiven them than though he were presented with an hundred or two hundred. For him seemeth the number of nine so holy, because the messenger of God immortal devised it.

Also, when the Chan of Cathay had wonnen the country of Cathay, and put in subjection and under foot many countries abouten, he fell sick. And when he felt well that he should die, he said to his twelve sons, that everych of them should bring him one of his arrows. And so they didden anon. And then he commanded that men should binden them together in three places. And then he took them to his eldest son, and bade him break them all together. And he enforced him with all his might to break them, but he ne might not. And then the Chan bade his second son to break them ; and so, shortly, to all, each after other ; but none of them might break them. And then he bade the youngest son dissever everych from other, and breaken everych by himself : and so he did. And then said the Chan to his eldest son and to all the other, Wherefore might ye not break them ? And they answered that they might not, because that they weren bounden

together. And wherefore, quoth he, hath your little youngest brother broken them? Because, quoth they, that they weren departed each from other. And then said the Chan, My sons, quoth he, truly thus will it faren be you. For as long as ye ben bounden together in three places, that is to sayn, in love, in truth, and in good accord, no man shall ben of power to grieve you: but and ye ben dissevered fro these three places, that your one help not your other, ye shall be destroyed and brought to nought: and if each of you love other and help other, ye shall be lords and sovereigns of all other. And when he had made his ordinances, he died.

THE COURT OF THE GREAT CHAN

Now shall I tell you the governance of the court of the great Chan, when he maketh solemn feasts; and that is principally four times in the year.

The first feast is of his birth, that other is of his presentation in their temple that they clepen their Moseache [1], where they maken a manner of circumcision, and the tother two feasts ben of his idols. The first feast of the idol is when he is first put into their temple and throned; the tother feast is when the idol beginneth first to speak, or to work miracles. Mo ben there not of solemn feasts, but if he marry any of his children.

Now understandeth, that at every of these feasts he hath great multitude of people, well ordained and well arrayed, be thousands, be hundreds, and be tens. And every man knoweth

[1] mosque.

well what service he shall do, and every man giveth so good heed and so good attendance to his service that no man findeth no default. And there ben first ordained 4000 barons, mighty and rich, for to govern and to make ordinance for the feast, and for to serve the emperor. And these solemn feasts ben made withouten in halls and tents made of cloths of gold and of tartaries [1], full nobly. And all tho barons han crowns of gold upon their heads, full noble and rich, full of precious stones and great pearls orient. And they ben all clothed in cloths of gold or of tartaries or of camakas [2], so richly and so perfectly, that no man in the world can amenden it, ne better devisen it. And all tho robes ben orfrayed [3] all abouten, and dubbed full of precious stones and of great orient pearls, full richly. And they may well do so, for cloths of gold and of silk ben greater cheap there a great deal than ben cloths of wool. And these 4000 barons ben devised in four companies, and every thousand is clothed in cloths all of one colour, and that so well arrayed and so richly, that it is marvel to behold.

The first thousand, that is of dukes, of earls, of marquises and of amirals, all clothed in cloths of gold, with tissues of green silk, and bordered with gold, full of precious stones in manner as I have said before. The second thousand is all clothed in cloths diapered of red silk, all wrought with gold, and the orfrays set full of great pearl and precious stones, full nobly wrought. The third thousand is clothed in cloths of silk, of purple or of Ind. And the fourth thousand is in cloths of yellow. And all their clothes ben so nobly and so

[1] Tartar cloth. [2] silks. [3] gold-embroidered.

richly wrought with gold and precious stones and rich pearls, that if a man of this country had but only one of their robes, he might well say that he should never be poor; for the gold and the precious stones and the great orient pearls ben of greater value on this half the sea than they ben beyond the sea in tho countries.

And when they ben thus apparelled, they gon two and two together, full ordinately [1], before the emperor, withouten speech of any word, save only inclining to him. And everych of them beareth a tablet of jasper or of ivory or of crystal, and the minstrels going before them, souning their instruments of diverse melody. And when the first thousand is thus passed and hath made his muster he withdraweth him on that one side; and then entereth that other second thousand, and doth right so, in the same manner of array and countenance, as did the first; and after, the third; and then, the fourth; and none of them saith not one word.

And at one side of the emperor's table sitten many philosophers that ben proved for wise men in many diverse sciences, as of astronomy, nigromancy, geomancy, pyromancy, hydromancy, of augury and of many other sciences. And everych of them have before them astrolabes of gold, some spheres, some the brain pan of a dead man, some vessels of gold full of gravel or sand, some vessels of gold full of coals burning, some vessels of gold full of water and of wine and of oil, and some horologes [2] of gold, made full nobly and richly wrought, and many other manner of instruments after their sciences.

And at certain hours, when them thinketh time,

[1] orderly. [2] clocks.

they sayn to certain officers that standen before them, ordained for the time to fulfil their commandments; Maketh peace!

And then sayn the officers; Now peace! listen!

And after that, saith another of the philosophers: Every man do reverence and incline to the emperor, that is God's Son and sovereign lord of all the world; for now is time! And then every man boweth his head toward the earth.

And then commandeth the same philosopher again; Standeth up! And they don so.

And at another hour, saith another philosopher; Putteth your little finger in your ears! And anon they don so.

And at another hour, saith another philosopher; Putteth your hand before your mouth! And anon they don so.

And at another hour, saith another philosopher; Putteth your hand upon your head! And after that he biddeth them to don their hand away. And they don so.

And so, from hour to hour, they commanden certain things; and they sayn, that those things han diverse significations. And I asked them privily what tho things betokened. And one of the masters told me, that the bowing of the head at that hour betokened this; that all tho that boweden their heads shoulden evermore after be obeissant and true to the emperor, and never, for gifts ne for promise in no kind, ben false ne traitor unto him for good ne evil. And the putting of the little finger in the ear betokeneth, as they sayn, that none of them ne shall not hear speak no contrarious thing to the emperor but that he shall tell it anon to his council or discover it to

some men that will make relation to the emperor, though he were his father or brother or son. And so forth, of all other things that is don by the philosophers, they told me the causes of many diverse things. And trusteth right well in certain, that no man doth nothing to the emperor that belongeth unto him, neither clothing ne bread ne wine ne bath ne none other thing that longeth to him, but at certain hours that his philosophers will devisen. And if there fall war in any side to the emperor, anon the philosophers comen and sayn their advice after their calculations, and counselen the emperor of their advice be their sciences; so that the emperor doth nothing withouten their counsel.

And when the philosophers han done and performed their commandments, then the minstrels beginnen to do their minstrelsy, everych in their instruments, each after other, with all the melody that they can devise. And when they han done a good while, one of the officers of the emperor goeth up on a high stage wrought full curiously, and crieth and saith with loud voice; Maketh Peace! And then every man is still.

And then, anon after, all the lords, that ben of the emperor's lineage, nobly arrayed in rich cloths of gold and royally apparelled on white steeds, as many as may well suen him at that time, ben ready to maken their presents to the emperor. And then saith the steward of the court to the lords, be name; N. of N.! and nameth first the most noble and the worthiest be name, and saith; Be ye ready with such a number of white horses, for to serve the emperor, your sovereign lord! And to another lord he saith; N. of N., be ye

ready with such a number, to serve your sovereign lord! And to another, right so, and to all the lords of the emperor's lineage, each after other, as they ben of estate. And when they ben all cleped, they entern each after other, and presentenen the white horses to the emperor, and then gon their way. And then after, all the other barons every of them given him presents or jewel or some other thing, after that they ben of estate. And then after them, all the prelates of their law, and religious men and others; and every man giveth him something. And when that all men han thus presented the emperor, the greatest of dignity of the prelates giveth him a blessing, saying an orison of their law.

And then beginnen the minstrels to maken their minstrelsy in divers instruments with all the melody that they can devise. And when they han done their craft, then they bringen before the emperor, lions, leopards, and other diverse beasts, and eagles and vultures and other divers fowls, and fishes and serpents, for to don him reverence. And then comen jugglers and enchanters, that don many marvels; for they maken to come in the air, the sun and the moon be seeming, to every man's sight. And after they maken the night so dark that no man may see nothing. And after they maken the day to come again, fair and pleasant with bright sun, to every man's sight. And then they bringen in dances of the fairest damsels of the world, and richest arrayed. And after they maken to comen in other damsels bringing cups of gold full of milk of diverse beasts, and given drink to lords and to ladies. And then they make knights to jousten in arms full lustily;

and they runnen together a great random, and they frusschen[1] together full fiercely, and they breaken their spears so rudely that the truncheons fleen in sprouts and pieces all about the hall. And then they make to come in hunting for the hart and for the boar, with hounds running with open mouth. And many other things they don by craft of their enchantments, that it is marvel for to see. And such plays of disport they make till the taking up of the boards. This great Chan hath full great people for to serve him, as I have told you before. For he hath of minstrels the number of thirteen cumants,[2] but they abide not always with him. For all the minstrels that comen before him, of what nation that they ben of, they be withholden with him as of his household, and entered in his books as for his own men. And after that, where that ever they gon, ever more they claimen for minstrels of the great Chan; and under that title, all kings and lords cherishen them the more with gifts and all thing. And therefore he hath so great multitude of them.

And he hath of certain men as though they were yeomen, that keepen birds, as ostriches, gerfalcons, sparrow-hawks, falcons gentles, lanyers, sakers,[3] sakrets,[3] popinjays well speaking, and birds singing; and also of wild beasts, as of elephants tame and other, baboons, apes, marmosets, and other diverse beasts; the mountance of fifteen cumants of yeomen. And of physicians Christian he hath 200; and of leeches that ben Christian he hath 210; and of leeches and physi-

[1] rush.

[2] Mandeville explains (p. 28) that a *cumant* amounts to ten thousand.

[3] falcons.

cians that ben Saracens twenty, but he trusteth more in the Christian leeches than in the Saracens. And his other common household is withouten number, and they all han all necessaries, and all that them needeth, of the emperor's court. And he hath in his court many barons as servitors, that ben Christian and converted to good faith be the preaching of religious Christian men that dwellen with him; but there ben many mo, that will not that men knowen that they ben Christian.

This emperor may dispenden as much as he will withouten estimation. For he dispendeth not, ne maketh no money but of leather imprinted or of paper. And of that money is some of greater price and some of less price, after the diversity of his statutes. And when that money hath run so long that it beginneth to waste, then men bearen it to the emperor's treasury and then they taken new money for the old. And that money goeth throughout all the country and throughout all his provinces, for there and beyond them they make no money neither of gold nor of silver; and therefore he may dispend enough, and outrageously. And of gold and silver that men bearen in his country he maketh cylours[1], pillars and pavements in his palace, and other diverse things, what him liketh.

This emperor hath in his chamber, in one of the pillars of gold, a ruby and a carbuncle of half a foot long, that in the night giveth so great clarity and shining, that it is as light as day. And he hath many other precious stones and many other rubies and carbuncles; but tho ben the greatest and the most precious.

[1] canopies.

This emperor dwelleth in summer in a city that is toward the north that is clept Saduz; and there is cold enough. And in winter he dwelleth in a city that is clept Camaaleche, and that is an hot country. But the country, where he dwelleth in most commonly, is in Gaydo or in Jong, that is a good country and a tempree[1], after that the country is there; but to men of this country it were too passing hot.

And when this emperor will ride from one country to another he ordaineth four hosts of his folk, of the which the first host goeth before him a day's journey. For that host shall ben lodged the night, where the emperor shall lie upon the morwe. And there shall every man have all manner of victual and necessaries that ben needful, of the emperor's costages. And in this first host is the number of people fifty cumants, what of horse what of foot, of the which every cumant amounten to 10,000, as I have told you before. And another host goeth in the right side of the emperor, nigh half a journey fro him. And another goeth on the left side of him, in the same wise. And in every host is as much multitude of people as in the first host. And then after cometh the fourth host, that is much more than any of the other, and that goeth behinden him, the mountance of a bow draught. And every host hath his journeys ordained in certain places, where they shall be lodged at night, and there they shall have all that them needeth. And if it befall that any of the host die, anon they putten another in his place, so that the number shall evermore ben whole.

[1] temperate.

And ye shall understand, that the emperor, in his proper person, rideth not as other great lords don beyond, but if him list to go privily with few men, for to ben unknown. And else, he rides in a chariot with four wheels, upon the which is made a fair chamber; and it is made of a certain wood, that cometh out of Paradise terrestre, that men clepen[1] lignum aloes, that the floods of Paradise bringen out at divers seasons, as I have told you here beforn. And this chamber is full well smelling because of the wood that it is made of. And all this chamber is covered within of plate of fine gold dubbed with precious stones and great pearls. And four elephants and four great destriers, all white and covered with rich covertures, leading the chariot. And four, or five, or six, of the greatest lords riden about this chariot, full richly arrayed and full nobly, so that no man shall nigh the chariot, but only tho lords, but if that the emperor call any man to him that him list to speak withal. And above the chamber of this chariot that the emperor sitteth in ben set upon a perch four or five or six gerfalcons, to that intent, that when the emperor seeth any wild fowl, that he may take it at his own list, and have the disport and the play of the flight, first with one, and after with another; and so he taketh his disport passing be the country. And no man rideth before him of his company, but all after him. And no man dare not come nigh the chariot, by a bow draught, but tho lords only that ben about him: and all the host cometh fairly after him in great multitude. . . .

And ye shall understand, that the people that

[1] call.

he hath so many hosts of, abouten him and about his wives and his son, they dwell not continually with him: but always, when him liketh, they be sent for; and after, when they have done, they returnen to their own households, save only they that ben dwelling with him in household for to serven him and his wives and his sons for to govern his household. And albeit, that the other ben departed fro him after that they han performed their service, yet there abideth continually with him in court 50,000 men at horse and 200,000 men a foot, withouten minstrels and tho that keepen wild beasts and divers birds, of the which I have told you the number before.

Under the firmament is not so great a lord, ne so mighty, ne so rich as the great Chan; not Prester John, that is emperor of the high Ind, ne the Soldan of Babylon, ne the Emperor of Persia. All these ne ben not in comparison to the great Chan, neither of might, ne of noblesse, ne of royalty, ne of riches; for in all these he passeth all earthly princes. Wherefore it is great harm that he believeth not faithfully in God. And natheles he will gladly hear speak of God: and he suffereth well that Christian men dwell in his lordship, and that men of his faith ben made Christian men if they will, throughout all his country. For he defendeth no man to hold no law other than him liketh.—*The Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville.*

GEOFFREY CHAUCER

1340—1400

THE TALE OF MELIBEUS

A YOUNG man called Melibeus, mighty and rich, begat upon his wife, that called was Prudence, a daughter which that called was Sophie.

Upon a day befell that he for his disport is went into the fields him to play. His wife and eke his daughter hath he left inwith his house, of which the doors weren fast y-shette [1]. Three of his old foes han it espied, and setten ladders to the walls of his house, and by the windows been entered, and beaten his wife, and wounded his daughter with five mortal wounds in five sundry places,—that is to seyn, in her feet, in her hands, in her ears, in her nose, and in her mouth,—and leften her for dead and wenten away.

When Melibeus returned was into his house and saw all this mischief, he, like a madman, rending his clothes, gan to weep and cry.

Prudence, his wife, as ferforth [2] as she durst, besought him of his weeping for to stynte [3]; but not for-thy [4] he gan to cry and weepen ever longer the more.

This noble wife Prudence remembered her upon the sentence of Ovid, in his book that cleped [5] is The Remedy of Love, where as he saith, 'He is a fool that disturbeth the mother to weepen in the death of her child, till she have wept her fill, as for a certain time; and then shall man doon

[1] shut. [2] far forth. [3] cease. [4] therefore. [5] called.

his diligence with amiable words her to recomfort, and prayen her of her weeping for to stint[1].' For which reason this noble wife Prudence suffered her husband for to weep and cry as for a certain space; and when she saw her time, she said him in this wise: 'Alas, my lord,' quoth she, 'why make ye yourself for to be like a fool? Forsooth it appertaineth not to a wise man to maken such a sorrow. Your daughter, with the grace of God, shall warisshe[2] and escape; and all were it so that she right now were dead, ye ne ought not, as for her death, yourself to destroy. Senec saith: "The wise man shall not take to great discomfort for the death of his children, but certes, he should sufferen it in patience as well as he abideth the death of his own proper person"' . . .

'I pray you, let mercy been in your mind and in your heart, to the effect and intent that God Almighty have mercy on you in his last judgement; for Saint Jame saith in his Epistle "Judgement withouten mercy shall be done to him, that hath no mercy of another wight."' When Melibee had heard the great skills and reasons of dame Prudence, and her wise informations and teachings, his heart gan incline to the will of his wife, considering her true intent; and conformed him anon, and assented fully to worken after her counsel, and thanked God, of whom proceedeth all virtue and all goodness, that him sent a wife of so great discretion.

And when the day came that his adversaries should appearen in his presence, he spake unto them full goodly and said in this wise: Albeit so that of your pride and presumption and folly,

[1] stop. [2] be cured.

and of your negligence and unkonnynge [1], ye have misborne you and trespassed unto me; yet, forasmuch as I see and behold your great humility and that ye been sorry and repentant of your guilts, it constraineth me to doon you grace and mercy. Therefore I receive you to my grace and forgive you utterly all the offences, injuries, and wrongs, that ye have done again me and mine, to this effect and to this end, that God of his endless mercy will at the time of our dying forgiven us our guilts that we han trespassed to him in this wretched world; for doubtless if we be sorry and repentant of the sins and guilts which we han trespassed in the sight of our Lord God, he is so free and so merciable [2] that he will forgiven us our guilts, and bringen us to his bliss that never hath end.'—*Canterbury Tales.*

WILLIAM CAXTON

1415 (?)—1491

OF CURIOSITY

THERE was a child of Rome that was named Papirus that on a time went with his fader which was a senator into the chamber where as they held their Council. And that time they spake of such matters as was commanded and agreed should be kept secret upon pain of their heads, and so departed. And when he was comen home from the Senatory and fro the Council with his fader, his mother demanded of him what was the

[1] ignorance. [2] merciful.

counsel, and whereof they spake and had tarried so long there. And the child answered to her and said he durst not tell nor say it for so much as it was defended[1] upon pain of death. Then was the moder more desirous to know than she was tofore[2]. And began to flatter him one time, and afterward to menace him that he should say and tell to her what it was. And when the child saw that he might have no rest of his moder in no wise, he made her first promise that she should keep it secret and to tell it to none of the world. And that done he feigned a lesing or a lie and said to her that the senators had in counsel a great question and difference which was this: whether it were better and more for the Common-weal of Rome that a man should have two wives or a wife to have two husbands. And when she had understood this, he defended her that she should tell it to none other body. And after this she went to her gossip and told to her this counsel secretly, and *she* told to another, and thus every wife told it to other in secret. And thus it happened anon after that all the wives of Rome came to the Senatory where the senators were assembled and cried with a high voice that they had lever[3] and also it were better for the Common-weal that a wife should have two husbands than a man two wives.—*Works.*

[1] forbidden. [2] before. [3] rather.

SIR THOMAS MALORY

(*c.* 1470)

THE STORY OF SIR GARETH

How Beaumains came to king Arthur's court and demanded three petitions of king Arthur.

When Arthur held his Round Table most plenour[1], it fortuned that he commanded that the high feast of Pentecost should be holden at a city and a castle, the which in tho days was called Kink-Kenadon, upon the sands that marched nigh Wales. So ever the king had a custom that at the feast of Pentecost in especial afore other feasts in the year he would not go that day to meat until he had heard or seen of a great marvel. And for that custom all manner of strange adventures came before Arthur as at that feast before all other feasts. And so Sir Gawaine, a little tofore noon of the day of Pentecost, espied at a window three men upon horseback, and a dwarf on foot, and so the three men alight and the dwarf kept their horses, and one of the three men was higher than the other twain by a foot and a half. Then Sir Gawaine went unto the king and said, Sir, go to your meat, for here at the hand comen strange adventures. So Arthur went unto his meat with many other kings. And there were all the knights of the Round Table, only[2] tho that were prisoners or slain at a recounter. Then at the high feast evermore they should be fulfilled the whole number of an hundred and fifty, for then was the Round Table fully complished. Right so came into the

[1] fully. [2] except.

hall two men well beseen and richly, and upon their shoulders there leaned the goodliest young man and the fairest that ever they all saw, and he was large and long and broad in the shoulders, and well visaged, and the fairest and the largest handed that ever man saw, but he fared as though he might not go nor bear himself, but if he leaned upon their shoulders. Anon as Arthur saw him there was made peace and room, and right so they yede [1] with him unto the high dais, without saying of any words. Then this much young man pulled him aback, and easily stretched up straight, saying, King Arthur, God you bless, and all your fair fellowship, and in especial the fellowship of the Table Round. And for this cause I am come hither, to pray you and require you to give me three gifts, and they shall not be unreasonably asked, but that ye may worshipfully and honourably grant them me, and to you no great hurt nor loss. And the first done and gift I will ask now, and the other two gifts I will ask this day twelvemonth wheresomever ye hold your high feast. Now ask, said Arthur, and ye shall have your asking. Now sir, this is my petition for this feast, that ye will give me meat and drink sufficiently for this twelvemonth, and at that day I will ask mine other two gifts. My fair son, said Arthur, ask better, I counsel thee, for this is but a simple asking, for my heart giveth me to thee greatly that thou art come of men of worship, and greatly my conceit faileth me but thou shalt prove a man of right great worship. Sir, he said, thereof be as it be may, I have asked that I will ask. Well, said the king, ye shall have meat and drink enough,

[1] went.

I never defended that none, nother my friend ne my foe. But what is thy name I would wit? I cannot tell you, said he. That is marvel, said the king, that thou knowest not thy name, and thou art the goodliest young man that ever I saw. Then the king betook him to Sir Kay, the steward, and charged him that he should give him of all manner of meats and drinks of the best, and also that he had all manner of finding as though he were a lord's son. That shall little need, said Sir Kay, to do such cost upon him; for I dare undertake he is a villain born, and never will make man, for an[1] he had come of gentlemen he would have asked of you horse and armour, but such as he is, so he asketh. And sithen[2] he hath no name, I shall give him a name that shall be Beaumains, that is Fair-hands, and into the kitchen I shall bring him, and there he shall have fat browis every day, that he shall be as fat by the twelvemonth's end as a pork hog. Right so the two men departed, and beleft him to Sir Kay, that scorned him and mocked him.

How Sir Launcelot and Sir Gawaine were wroth because Sir Kay mocked Beaumains, and of a damoisel which desired a knight for to fight for a lady.

Thereat was Sir Gawaine wroth, and in especial Sir Launcelot bad Sir Kay leave his mocking, for I dare lay my head he shall prove a man of great worship. Let be, said Sir Kay, it may not be, by no reason, for as he is so hath he asked. Beware, said Sir Launcelot, so ye gave the good knight Brewnor, Sir Dinadamys' brother, a name, and ye

[1] if. [2] since.

called him La Cote Male Taile, and that turned you to anger afterward. As for that, said Sir Kay, this shall never prove none such ; for Sir Brewnor desired ever worship, and this desireth bread and drink, and broth ; upon pain of my life he was fostered up in some abbey, and, howsomever it was, they failed meat and drink, and so hither he is come for his sustenance. And so Sir Kay bad get him a place and sit down to meat, so Beaumains went to the hall door, and set him down among boys and lads, and there he eat sadly. And then Sir Launcelot after meat bad him come to his chamber, and there he should have meat and drink enough. And so did Sir Gawaine : but he refused them all ; he would do none other but as Sir Kay commanded him, for no proffer. But as touching Sir Gawaine, he had reason to proffer him lodging, meat, and drink, for that proffer came of his blood, for he was near kin to him than he wist. But that as Sir Launcelot did was of his great gentleness and courtesy. So thus he was put into the kitchen, and lay nightly as the boys of the kitchen did. And so he endured all that twelvemonth, and never displeased man nor child, but always he was meek and mild. But ever when that he saw any justing of knights, that would he see an he might. And ever Sir Launcelot would give him gold to spend, and clothes, and so did Sir Gawaine. And where there were any masteries done thereat would he be, and there might none cast bar nor stone to him by two yards. Then would Sir Kay say, How liketh you my boy of the kitchen ? So it passed on till the feast of Whitsuntide. And at that time the king held it at Carlyon in the most royalest wise that might be, like as he did yearly.

But the king would no meat eat upon the Whitsunday until he heard some adventures. Then came there a squire to the king and said, Sir, ye may go to your meat, for here cometh a damoisel with some strange adventures. Then was the king glad, and set him down. Right so there came a damoisel into the hall, and saluted the king, and prayed him of succour. For whom, said the king, what is the adventure? Sir, she said, I have a lady of great worship and renomme, and she is besieged with a tyrant, so that she may not out of her castle. And because here are called the noblest knights of the world, I come to you to pray you of succour. What highteth[1] your lady, and where dwelleth she? and who is he, and what is his name, that hath besieged her? Sir king, she said, as for my lady's name that shall not ye know for me as at this time, but I let you wit she is a lady of great worship, and of great lands. And as for the tyrant that besiegeth her and destroyeth her lands, he is called the red knight of the red launds[2]. I know him not, said the king. Sir, said Sir Gawaine, I know him well, for he is one of the perilousest knights of the world: men say that he hath seven men's strength, and from him I escaped once full hard with my life. Fair damoisel, said the king, there ben knights here would do their power for to rescue your lady, but because ye will not tell her name, nor where she dwelleth, therefore none of my knights that here be now shall go with you by my will. Then must I speak further, said the damoisel.

[1] is called. [2] bushy plains.

How Beaumains desired the battle, and how it was granted to him, and how he desired to be made knight of Sir Launcelot.

With these words came before the king Beaumains, while the damoisel was there, and thus he said: Sir king, God thank you, I have been these twelvemonths in your kitchen, and have had my full sustenance, and now I will ask my two gifts that ben behind. Ask upon my peril, said the king. Sir, this shall be my two gifts. First, that ye will grant me to have this adventure of the damoisel, for it belongeth unto me. Thou shalt have it, said the king, I grant it thee. Then, sir, this is the other gift, that ye shall bid Launcelot du Lake to make me knight, for of him I will be made knight, and else of none. And when I am past, I pray you let him ride after me, and make me knight when I require him. All this shall be done, said the king. Fie on thee, said the damoisel, shall I have none but one that is your kitchen page. Then was she wroth, and took her horse and departed.

And with that there came one to Beaumains, and told him his horse and armour was come for him, and there was the dwarf come with all thing that him needed in the richest manner. Thereat all the court had much marvel fro whence came all that gear. So when he was armed there was none but few so goodly a man as he was. And right so he came into the hall and took his leave of king Arthur and Sir Gawaine and Sir Launcelot, and prayed that he would hie after him. And so departed and rode after the damoisel.

How Beaumains departed, and how he gat of Sir Kay a spear and a shield, and how he justed and fought with Sir Launcelot.

But there went many after to behold how well he was horsed and trapped in cloth of gold, but he had neither shield nor spear. Then Sir Kay said all open in the hall, I will ride after my boy in the kitchen, to wit whether he will know me for his better. Said Sir Launcelot and Sir Gawaine, Yet abide at home. So Sir Kay made him ready and took his horse and his spear and rode after him. And right as Beaumains overtook the damoisel, right so came Sir Kay, and said, Beaumains, what, sir, know ye not me? Then he turned his horse and knew it was Sir Kay, that had done him all the despite as ye have heard afore. Yea, said Beaumains, I know you for an ungentle knight of the court, and therefore beware of me. Therewith Sir Kay put his spear in the rest, and ran straight upon him, and Beaumains came as fast upon him with his sword in his hand; and so he put away his spear with his sword, and with a foin[1] thrested him thorough the side, that Sir Kay fell down as he had been dead, and he alight down and took Sir Kay's shield and his spear, and start upon his own horse and rode his way. All that saw Sir Launcelot, and so did the damoisel. And then he bad his dwarf start upon Sir Kay's horse, and so he did. By that Sir Launcelot was come. Then he proffered Sir Launcelot to just, and either made them ready, and they came together so fiercely that either bare down other to the earth, and sore were they bruised. Then Sir Launcelot arose and helped him fro his horse. And then Beaumains threw his

[1] push in fencing.

shield from him, and proffered to fight with Sir Launcelot on foot, and so they rushed togethers like boars, tracing, racing, and foining, to the mountenance[1] of an hour, and Sir Launcelot felt him so big that he marvelled of his strength, for he fought more liker a giant than a knight, and that his fighting was durable and passing perilous. For Sir Launcelot had so much ado with him that he dread himself to be shamed, and said, Beaumains, fight not so sore, your quarrel and mine is not so great but we may leave off. Truly, that is truth, said Beaumains, but it doth me good to feel your might, and yet, my lord, I showed not the utterance.

How Beaumains told to Sir Launcelot his name, and how he was dubbed knight of Sir Launcelot, and after overtook the damoisel.

In God's name, said Sir Launcelot, for I promise you by the faith of my body I had as much to do as I might to save myself fro you unashamed, and therefore have ye no doubt of none earthly knight. Hope ye so that I may any while stand a proved knight? said Beaumains. Yea, said Launcelot, do as ye have done, and I shall be your warrant. Then, I pray you, said Beaumains, give me the order of knighthood. Then must ye tell me your name, said Launcelot, and of what kin ye be born. Sir, so that ye will not discover me I shall, said Beaumains. Nay, said Sir Launcelot, and that I promise you by the faith of my body, until it be openly knowen. Then, Sir, he said, my name is Gareth, and brother unto Sir Gawaine, of father and mother. Ah! sir, said Launcelot, I am more

[1] amount.

gladder of you than I was, for ever me thought ye should be of great blood, and that ye came not to the court neither for meat ne for drink. And then Sir Launcelot gave him the order of knighthood. And then Sir Gareth prayed him for to depart, and let him go. So Sir Launcelot departed from him and came to Sir Kay, and made him to be borne home upon his shield, and so he was healed hard with the life, and all men scorned Sir Kay, and in especial Sir Gawaine and Sir Launcelot said it was not his part to rebuke no young man, for full little knew he of what birth he is comen, and for what cause he came to this court. And so we leave Sir Kay and turn we unto Beaumains. When he had overtaken the damoisel anon she said, What dost thou here ? thou stinkest all of the kitchen, thy clothes ben bawdy of the grease and tallow that thou gainedst in king Arthur's kitchen; weenest thou, said she, that I allow thee for yonder knight that thou killest ? Nay truly, for thou slewest him unhappily and cowardly, therefore turn again, bawdy kitchen page. I know thee well, for Sir Kay named thee Beaumains; what art thou but a luske[1] and a turner of broaches, and a ladle-washer ? Damoisel, said Beaumains, say to me what ye will, I will not go from you whatsomever ye say, for I have undertaken to king Arthur for to achieve your adventure, and so shall I finish it to the end, either I shall die therefor. Fie on thee, kitchen knave, wilt thou finish mine adventure ? thou shalt anon be met withal, that thou wouldest not for all the broth that ever thou suppedst once look him in the face. I shall assay, said Beaumains.

[1] lout.

So thus as they rode in the wood, there came a man fleeing all that ever he might. Whither wilt thou ? said Beaumains. O lord, he said, help me, for hereby in a slade [1] are six thieves, that have taken my lord and bound him, so I am afeard lest they will slay him. Bring me thither, said Beaumains. And so they rode togethers until they came there as was the knight bounden, and then he rode unto them and strake one unto the death, and then another, and at the third stroke he slew the third thief: and then the other three fled. And he rode after them, and he overtook them, and then tho three thieves turned again and assailed Beaumains hard, but at the last he slew them, and returned and unbound the knight. And the knight thanked him, and prayed him to ride with him to his castle there a little beside, and he should worshipfully reward him for his good deeds. Sir, said Beaumains, I will no reward have, I was this day made knight of noble Sir Launcelot, and therefore I will no reward have, but God reward me. And also I must follow this damoisel. And when he came nigh her, she bad him ride fro her, for thou smellest all of the kitchen; weenest thou that I have joy of thee ? for all this deed thou hast done, nis but mishappen thee ; but thou shalt see a sight shall make thee turn again, and that lightly. Then the same knight which was rescued of the thieves rode after that damoisel, and prayed her to lodge with him all that night. And because it was near night the damoisel rode with him to his castle, and there they had great cheer. And at supper the knight set Sir Beaumains afore the damoisel. Fie, fie, said she, sir knight, ye are

[1] valley.

uncourteous to set a kitchen page afore me, him bescemeth better to stick a swine than to sit afore a damoisel of high parage[1]. Then the knight was ashamed at her words, and took him up and set him at a side board, and set himself afore him. And so all that night they had good cheer and merry rest.

How Beaumains fought and slew two knights at a passage.

And on the morn the damoisel and he took their leave and thanked the knight, and so departed, and rode on their way until they came to a great forest. And there was a great river and but one passage, and there were ready two knights on the further side, to let[2] them the passage. What sayest thou, said the damoisel, wilt thou match yonder knights, or turn again? Nay, said Sir Beaumains, I will not turn again an they were six mo. And therewithal he rushed into the water, and in mids of the water either brake their spears upon other to their hands, and then they drew their swords and smote eagerly at other. And at the last Sir Beaumains smote the other upon the helm that his head stonied, and therewithal he fell down in the water, and there was he drowned. And then he spurred his horse upon the land, where the other knight fell upon him and brake his spear, and so they drew their swords and fought long togethers. At the last Sir Beaumains clave his helm and his head down to the shoulders: and so he rode unto the damoisel, and bad her ride forth on her way. Alas, she said, that ever a kitchen page should have that fortune to destroy

[1] lineage. [2] hinder, O.E. lettan, lit. to make late.

such two doughty knights; thou weenest thou hast done doughtily; that is not so, for the first knight his horse stumbled, and there he was drowned in the water, and never it was by thy force nor by thy might. And the last knight by mishap thou camest behind him and mishappily thou slew him. Damoisel, said Beaumains, ye may say what ye will, but with whomsoever I have ado withal I trust to God to serve him or he depart, and therefore I reck not what ye say, so that I may win your lady. Fie, fie, foul kitchen knave, thou shalt see knights that shall abate thy boast. Fair damoisel, give me goodly language, and then my care is past, for what knights somever they be I care not, ne I doubt them not. Also, said she, I say it for thine avail, yet mayest thou turn again with thy worship, for an thou follow me thou art but slain, for I see all that ever thou dost is but by misaventure, and not by prowess of thy hands. Well, damoisel, ye may say what ye will, but wheresomever ye go I will follow you. So this Beaumains rode with that lady till even-song time, and ever she chid him, and would not rest. And they came to a black laund, and there was a black hawthorn, and thereon hung a black banner, and on the other side there hung a black shield, and by it stood a black spear great and long, and a great black horse covered with silk, and a black stone fast by.

How Beaumains fought with the knight of the black launds, and fought with him till he fell down and died.

There sat a knight all armed in black harness, and his name was the knight of the black laund.

Then the damoisel, when she saw that knight, she bade him flee down that valley, for his horse was not saddled. Gramercy, said Beaumains, for always ye would have me a coward. With that the black knight, when she came nigh him, spake and said, Damoisel, have ye brought this knight of king Arthur to be your champion? Nay, fair knight, said she, this is but a kitchen knave, that was fed in king Arthur's kitchen for alms. Why cometh he, said the knight, in such array? it is shame that he beareth you company. Sir, I cannot be delivered of him, said she, for with me he rideth maugre[1] mine head; God would that ye should put him from me, outher[2] to slay him and ye may, for he is an unhappy knave, and unhappily he hath done this day; thorough mishap I saw him slay two knights at the passage of the water, and other deeds he did beforn right marvellous, and thorough unhappiness. That marvelleth me, said the black knight, that any man that is of worship will have ado with him. They know him not, said the damoisel, and for because he rideth with me they wene[3] that he be some man of worship born. That may be, said the black knight, how be it as ye say that he be no man of worship, he is a full likely person, and full like to be a strong man; but thus much shall I grant you, said the black knight, I shall put him down upon one foot, and his horse and his harness he shall leave with me, for it were shame to me to do him any more harm. When Sir Beaumains heard him say thus, he said, Sir knight, thou art full large of my horse and my harness, I let thee wit[4] it cost thee nought, and whether it liketh thee or not this laund will

[1] in spite of. [2] or else. [3] think. [4] know.

I pass, maugre thine head, and horse ne harness gettest thou none of me, but if thou win them with thy hands; and therefore let see what thou canst do. Sayest thou that, said the black knight, now yield thy lady fro thee, for it beseemeth never a kitchen page to ride with such a lady. Thou liest, said Beaumains, I am a gentleman born, and of more high lineage than thou, and that will I prove on thy body. Then in great wrath they departed with their horses, and came togethers as it had been the thunder; and the black knight's spear brake, and Beaumains thrust him thorough both his sides, and therewith his spear brake, and the truncheon left still in his side. But nevertheless the black knight drew his sword and smote many eager strokes and of great might, and hurt Beaumains full sore. But at the last the black knight within an hour and a half he fell down off his horse in swoon, and there he died. And then Beaumains saw him so well horsed and armed, then he alight down, and armed him in his armour, and so took his horse, and rode after the damoisel. When she saw him come nigh, she said, Away, kitchen knave, out of the wind, for the smell of thy bawdy clothes grieveth me. Alas, she said, that ever such a knave should by mishap slay so good a knight as thou hast done, but all this is thine unhappiness. But hereby is one shall pay thee all thy payment, and therefore yet I counsel thee, flee. It may happen me, said Beaumains, to be beaten or slain, but I warn you, fair damoisel, I will not flee away nor leave your company for all that ye can say, for ever ye say that they will kill me or beat me, but how somever it happeneth I escape, and they lie on the ground. And there-

fore it were as good for you to hold you still, thus all day rebuking me, for away will I not till I see the uttermost of this journey, or else I will be slain outher[1] truly beaten; therefore ride on your way, for follow you I will whatsomever happen.

How the brother of the knight that was slain met with Beaumains, and fought with Beaumains till he was yielden.

Thus as they rode togethers, they saw a knight come driving by them all in green, both his horse and his harness; and when he came nigh the damoisel he asked her, Is that my brother the black knight that ye have brought with you? Nay, nay, she said, this unhappy kitchen knave hath slain your brother thorough unhappiness. Alas, said the green knight, that is great pity that so noble a knight as he was should so unhappily be slain, and namely of a knave's hand, as ye say that he is. Ah! traitor, said the green knight, thou shalt die for slaying of my brother, he was a full noble knight, and his name was Sir Percard. I defy thee, said Beaumains, for I let thee wit I slew him knightly, and not shamefully. Therewithal the green knight rode unto an horn that was green, and it hung upon a thorn, and there he blew three deadly motys[2], and there came two damoisels and armed him lightly. And then he took a great horse, and a green shield and a green spear. And then they ran togethers with all their mights, and brake their spears unto their hands. And then they drew their swords, and gave many sad strokes, and either of them wounded other full ill. And at the last at an overthwart Beaumains

[1] or else. [2] probably a misprint for *notes*.

with his horse strake the green knight's horse upon the side that he fell to the earth. And then the green knight avoided his horse lightly, and dressed him upon foot. That saw Beaumains, and therewithal he alight, and they rushed togethers like two mighty kempys [1] a long while, and sore they bled both. With that came the damoisel and said, My lord the green knight, why for shame stand ye so long fighting with the kitchen knave? Alas, it is shame that ever ye were made knight, to see such a lad match such a knight, as the weed overgrew the corn. Therewith the green knight was ashamed, and therewithal he gave a great stroke of might, and clave his shield thorough. When Beaumains saw his shield cloven asunder he was a little ashamed of that stroke, and of her language; and then he gave him such a buffet upon the helm that he fell on his knees: and so suddenly Beaumains pulled him upon the ground grovelling. And then the green knight cried him mercy, and yielded him unto Sir Beaumains, and prayed him to slay him not. All is in vain, said Beaumains, for thou shalt die, but if this damoisel that came with me pray me to save thy life. And therewithal he unlaced his helm, like as he would slay him. Fie upon thee, false kitchen page, I will never pray thee to save his life, for I will never be so much in thy danger. Then shall he die, said Beaumains. Not so hardy thou bawdy knave, said the damoisel, that thou slay him. Alas, said the green knight, suffer me not to die, for a fair word may save me. Fair knight, said the green knight, save my life, and I will forgive thee the death of my brother, and for ever to become thy man, and thirty knights

[1] champions.

that hold of me for ever shall do you service. In the devil's name, said the damoisel, that such a bawdy kitchen knave should have thee and thirty knights' service. Sir knight, said Beaumains, all this availeth thee not, but if my damoisel speak with me for thy life. And therewithal he made a semblant to slay him. Let be, said the damoisel, thou bawdy knave, slay him not, for an thou do thou shalt repent it. Damoisel, said Beaumains, your charge is to me a pleasure, and at your commandment his life shall be saved, and else not. Then he said, Sir knight with the green arms, I release thee quite at this damoisel's request, for I will not make her wroth; I will fulfil all that she chargeth me. And then the green knight, kneeled down, and did him homage with his sword. Then said the damoisel, Me repenteth, green knight, of your damage, and of your brother's death the black knight, for of your help I had great myster[1], for I dread me sore to pass this forest. Nay, dread you not, said the green knight, for ye shall lodge with me this night, and to morn I shall help you thorough this forest. So they took their horses and rode to his manor, which was fast there beside.

How the damoisel ever rebuked Beaumains, and would not suffer him to sit at her table, but called him kitchen boy.

And ever she rebuked Beaumains, and would not suffer him to sit at her table, but as the green knight took him and sat him at a side table. Marvel me thinketh, said the green knight to the damoisel, why ye rebuke this noble knight as ye do, for I warn you, damoisel, he is a full noble

[1] need.

knight, and I know no knight is able to match him, therefore ye do great wrong to rebuke him, for he shall do you right good service, for whatsomever he maketh himself ye shall prove at the end that he is come of a noble blood, and of king's lineage. Fie, fie, said the damoisel, it is shame for you to say of him such worship. Truly, said the green knight, it were shame for me to say of him any disworship, for he hath proved himself a better knight than I am, yet have I met with many knights in my days, and never or this time have I found no knight his match. And so that night they yede[1] unto rest, and all that night the green knight commanded thirty knights privily to watch Beaumains, for to keep him from all treason. And so on the morn they all arose, and heard their mass and brake their fast, and then they took their horses and rode on their way, and the green knight conveyed them thorough the forest, and there the green knight said, My lord Beaumains, I and these thirty knights shall be alway at your summons, both early and late, at your calling, and whether that ever ye will send us. It is well said, said Beaumains; when that I call upon you ye must yield you unto king Arthur and all your knights. If that ye so command us, we shall ben ready at all times, said the green knight. Fie, fie upon thee, in the devil's name, said the damoisel, that any good knights should be obedient unto a kitchen knave. So then departed the green knight and the damoisel. And then she said unto Beaumains, Why followest thou me thou kitchen boy, cast away thy shield and thy spear and flee away, yet I counsel thee betimes or thou shalt

[1] went.

say right soon, Alas! For were thou as wight[1] as ever was Wade, or Launcelot, Tristram, or the good knight Sir Lamorak, thou shalt not pass a pass here, that is called the pass perilous. Damoisel, said Beaumains, who is afeard let him flee, for it were shame to turn again sithen[2] I have ridden so long with you. Well, said the damoisel, ye shall soon, whether ye will or not.

How the third brother, called the red knight, justed and fought against Beaumains, and how Beaumains overcame him.

So within a while they saw a tower as white as any snow, well matchcold[3] all about, and double diked. And over the tower-gate there hung a fifty shields of divers colours; and under that tower there was a fair meadow. And therein were many knights and squires to behold scaffolds and pavilions, for there upon the morn should be a great tournament; and the lord of the tower was in his castle, and looked out at a window, and saw a damoisel, a dwarf, and a knight armed at all points. So God me help, said the lord, with that knight will I just, for I see that he is a knight errant. And so he armed him, and horsed him hastily. And when he was on horseback with his shield and his spear, it was all red, both his horse and his harness, and all that to him longeth. And when that he came nigh him he wend[4] it had been his brother the black knight. And then he cried aloud, Brother, what do ye in these marches? Nay, nay, said the damoisel, it is not he; this is but a kitchen knave, that was brought up for

[1] brave. [2] since. [3] macheolated, having projecting galleries. [4] thought.

almesse in king Arthur's court. Nevertheless, said the red knight, I will speak with him or he depart. Ah, said the damoisel, this knave hath killed thy brother, and Sir Kay named him Beaumains, and this horse and this harness was thy brother's the black knight. Also I saw thy brother the green knight overcome of his hands. Now may ye be revenged upon him, for I may never be quit of him.

With this either knights departed in sunder, and they came together with all their might, and either of their horses fell to the earth, and they avoided their horses, and put their shields afore them, and drew their swords, and either gave other sad strokes, now here, now there, racing, tracing, foining [1], and hurling like two boars, the space of two hours. And then she cried on high to the red knight, Alas, thou noble red knight, think what worship hath followed thee, let never a kitchen knave endure thee so long as he doth. Then the red knight waxed wroth, and doubled his strokes, and hurt Beaumains wonderly sore, that the blood ran down to the ground, that it was wonder to see that strong battle. Yet at the last Sir Beaumains strake him to the earth, and as he would have slain the red knight he cried mercy, saying, Noble knight slay me not, and I shall yield me to thee with fifty knights with me that be at my commandment. And I forgive thee all the despite that thou hast done to me, and the death of my brother the black knight. All this availeth not, said Beaumains, but if my damoisel pray me to save thy life. And therewith he made semblant to strike off his head. Let be, thou Beaumains, slay him not, for he is

[1] piercing.

a noble knight, and not so hardy upon thine head but thou save him. Then Beaumains bad the red knight stand up, and thank the damoisel now of thy life. Then the red knight prayed him to see his castle, and to be there all night. So the damoisel then granted him, and there they had merry cheer. But always the damoisel spake many foul words unto Beaumains, whereof the red knight had great marvel, and all that night the red knight made threescore knights to watch Beaumains, that he should have no shame nor villainy. And upon the morn they heard mass, and dined, and the red knight came before Beaumains with his threescore knights, and there he proffered him his homage and fealty at all times, he and his knights to do him service. I thank you, said Beaumains, but this ye shall grant me when I call upon you, to come afore my lord king Arthur and yield you unto him to be his knights. Sir, said the red knight, I will be ready and my fellowship at your summons. So Sir Beaumains departed and the damoisel, and ever she rode chiding him in the foulest manner.

How Sir Beaumains suffered great rebukes of the damoisel, and he suffered it patiently.

Damoisel, said Beaumains, ye are uncourteous so to rebuke me as ye do, for me seemeth I have done you good service, and ever ye threaten me I shall be beaten with knights that we meet, but ever for all your boast they lie in the dust or in the mire, and therefore I pray you rebuke me no more: and when ye see me beaten or yielden as recreant, then may ye bid me go from you shamefully, but first I let you wit I will not depart from

you, for I were worse than a fool an I would depart from you all the while that I win worship. Well, said she, right soon there shall meet a knight shall pay thee all thy wages, for he is the most man of worship of the world, except king Arthur. I will well, said Beaumains; the more he is of worship the more shall be my worship to have ado with him. Then anon they were ware where was afore them a city rich and fair. And betwixt them and the city a mile and an half, there was a fair meadow that seemed new mown, and therein were many pavilions fair to behold. Lo, said the damoisel, yonder is a lord that owneth yonder city, and his custom is when the weather is fair to lie in this meadow to just and tourney; and ever there ben about him five hundred knights and gentlemen of arms, and there ben all manner of games that any gentleman can devise. That goodly lord, said Beaumains, would I fain see. Thou shalt see him time enough, said the damoisel. And so as she rode near she espied the pavilion where he was. Lo, said she, seest thou yonder pavilion, that is all of the colour of Inde, and all manner of thing that there is about, men and women, and horses trapped, shields and spears were all of the colour of Inde, and his name is Sir Persant of Inde, the most lordliest knight that ever thou lookest on. It may well be, said Beaumains, but be he never so stout a knight, in this field I shall abide till that I see him under his shield. Ah fool, said she, thou were better flee betimes. Why, said Beaumains, an he be such a knight as ye make him, he will not set upon me with all his men, or with his five hundred knights. For an there come no more but one at once,

I shall him not fail whilst my life lasteth. Fie, fie, said the damoisel, that ever such a stinking knave should blow such a boast. Damoisel, he said, ye are to blame so to rebuke me, for I had lever[1] do five battles than so to be rebuked; let him come, and then let him do his worst. Sir, she said, I marvel what thou art, and of what kin thou art come: boldly thou speakest, and boldly thou hast done, that have I seen: therefore I pray thee save thyself an thou mayest, for thy horse and thou have had great travail, and I dread we dwell over long from the siege, for it is but hence seven mile, and all perilous passages we are past, all save only this passage, and here I dread me sore lest ye shall catch some hurt, therefore I would ye were hence, that ye were not bruised nor hurt with this strong knight. But I let you wit this Sir Persant of Inde is nothing of might nor strength unto the knight that laid the siege about my lady. As for that, said Sir Beaumains, be it as it be may; for sithen I am come so nigh this knight I will prove his might or I depart from him, and else I shall be shamed an I now withdraw me from him. And therefore, damoisel, have ye no doubt by the grace of God I shall so deal with this knight, that within two hours after noon I shall deliver him, and then shall we come to the siege by daylight. O Jesu, marvel have I, said the damoisel, what manner a man ye be, for it may never ben otherwise but that ye be comen of a noble blood, for so foul ne shamefully did never woman rule a knight as I have done you, and ever courteously ye have suffered me, and that came never but of a gentle blood.

[1] rather.

Damoisel, said Beaumains, a knight may little do that may not suffer a damoisel; for whatsomever ye said unto me I took none heed to your words, for the more ye said the more ye angered me, and my wrath I wreaked upon them that I had ado withal. And therefore all the missaying that ye missaid me furthered me in my battle, and caused me to think to show and prove myself at the end what I was; for peraventure though I had meat in king Arthur's kitchen, yet I might have had meat enough in other places; but all that I did it for to prove and assay my friends, and that shall be known another day, and whether that I be a gentleman born or none, I let you wit, fair damoisel, I have done you gentleman's service, and peraventure better service yet will I do or I depart from you. Alas, she said, fair Beaumains, forgive me all that I have missaid or done against thee. With all my heart, said he, I forgive it you, for ye did nothing but as ye should do, for all your evil words pleased me; and damoisel, said Beaumains, sin[1] it liketh you to say thus fair unto me, wit ye well it gladdeth my heart greatly, and now me seemeth there is no knight living but I am able enough for him.

How Beaumains fought with Sir Persant of Inde, and made him to be yielden.

With this Sir Persant of Inde had espied them as they hoved[2] in the field, and knightly he sent to them whether he came in war or in peace. Say to thy lord, said Beaumains, I take no force, but whether as him list himself. So the messenger

[1] since. [2] hovered.

went again unto Sir Persant, and told him all his answer. Well, then will I have ado with him to the utterance [1]. And so he purveyed him and rode against him. And Beaumains saw him and made him ready, and there they met with all that ever their horses might run, and brast [2] their spears either in three pieces, and their horses rushed so togethers that both their horses fell dead to the earth, and lightly they avoided their horses, and put their shields afore them, and drew their swords, and gave many great strokes, that sometime they hurtled together that they fell grovelling on the ground. Thus they fought two hours and more, that their shields and their hauberks were all forhewn, and in many stedys [3] they were wounded. So at the last Sir Beaumains smote him thorough the cost [4] of the body, and then he retrayed him [5] here and there, and knightly maintained his battle long time. And at the last, though him loth were, Beaumains smote Sir Persant above upon the helm that he fell grovelling to the earth, and then he lept upon him overthwart, and unlaced his helm to have slain him. Then Sir Persant yielded him and asked him mercy. With that came the damoisel, and prayed to save his life. I will well, for it were pity this noble knight should die. Gramercy, said Persant, gentle knight and damoisel; for certainly now I wot well it was ye that slew my brother the black knight, at the black thorn; he was a full noble knight, his name was Sir Percard. Also, I am sure that ye are he that won mine other brother the green knight, his name was Sir Pertolepe. Also, ye won my brother the

[1] uttermost. [2] burst, break. [3] places.
[4] i.e. *côte*, side. [5] drew him back.

red knight Sir Perimones. And now sin ye have won these, this shall I do for to please you; ye shall have homage and fealty of me, and an hundred knights, to be always at your commandment, to go and ride where ye will command us. And so they went unto Sir Persant's pavilion, and drank the wine and eat spices. And afterward Sir Persant made him to rest upon a bed until supper time, and after supper to bed again. . . .

Of the goodly communication between Sir Persant and Beaumains, and how he told him that his name was Sir Gareth.

And so on the morn the damoisel and Sir Beaumains heard mass and brake their fast, and so took their leave. Fair damoisel, said Persant, whitherward are ye way leading this knight? Sir, she said, this knight is going to the siege that besiegeth my sister in the castle dangerous. Ah, ah, said Persant, that is the knight of the red laund, the which is the most perilous knight that I know now living, and a man that is withouten mercy, and men sayen that he hath seven men's strength. God save you, said he to Beaumains, from that knight, for he doth great wrong to that lady, and that is great pity, for she is one of the fairest ladies of the world, and me seemeth that your damoisel is her sister. Is not your name Lynet? said he. Yea, sir, said she, and my lady my sister's name is dame Lyonesse. Now shall I tell you, said Sir Persant, this red knight of the red laund hath lain long at the siege, well nigh this two years, and many times he might have had

her an he had would, but he prolongeth the time to this intent for to have Sir Launcelot du Lake to do battle with him, or Sir Tristram, or Sir Lamorak de Galis, or Sir Gawaine: and this is his tarrying so long at the siege. Now, my lord Sir Persant of Inde, said the damoisel Lynet, I require you that ye will make this gentleman knight, or ever he fight with the red knight. I will with all my heart, said Sir Persant, and it please him to take the order of knighthood of so simple a man as I am. Sir, said Beaumains, I thank you for your good will, for I am better sped, for certainly the noble knight Sir Launcelot made me knight. Ah, said Sir Persant, of a more renommed knight might ye not be made knight. For of all knights he may be called chief of knighthood: and so all the world saith that betwixt three knights is departed[1] clearly knighthood, that is Launcelot du Lake, Sir Tristram de Lyonesse, and Sir Lamorak de Galis: these bear now the renomme[2]. There ben many other knights, as Sir Palamides the Saracen, and Sir Sasere his brother; also Sir Bleoberis, and Sir Blamore de Ganis his brother; also Sir Bors de Ganis, and Sir Ector de Maris, and Sir Percivale de Galis; these and many mo ben noble knights, but there be none that pass the three above said; therefore God speed you well, said Sir Persant, for an ye may match the red knight ye shall be called the fourth of the world. Sir, said Beaumains, I would fain be of good fame and of knighthood. And I let you wit I came of good men, for I dare say my father was a noble man, and so that ye will keep it in close, and this damoisel, I will tell you of what kin I am.

[1] i.e. disparted, shared. [2] renown.

We will not discover you, said they both, till ye command us, by the faith we owe unto God. Truly then, said he, my name is Gareth of Orkney, and king Lot was my father, and my mother is king Arthur's sister ; her name is dame Morgawse, and Sir Gawaine is my brother, and Sir Agravaine, and Sir Gaheris, and I am the youngest of them all. And yet wot not king Arthur nor Sir Gawaine what I am.

How the lady that was besieged had word from her sister how she had brought a knight to fight for her, and what battles he had achieved.

So the book saith that the lady that was besieged had word of her sister's coming by the dwarf, and a knight with her, and how he had passed all the perilous passages. What manner a man is he ? said the lady. He is a noble knight, truly, madam, said the dwarf, and but a young man, but he is as likely a man as ever ye saw any. What is he, said the damoisel, and of what kin is he comen, and of whom was he made knight ? Madam, said the dwarf, he is the king's son of Orkney, but his name I will not tell you as at this time ; but wit ye well, of Sir Launcelot was he made knight, for of none other would he be made knight, and Sir Kay named him Beaumains. How escaped he, said the lady, from the brethren of Persant ? Madam, he said, as a noble knight should. First, he slew two brethren at a passage of a water. Ah ! said she, they were good knights, but they were murtherers, the one hight [1] Gherard de Breusse, and that other knight hight Sir Arnold le Breusse.

[1] was called.

Then, madam, he recountered with the black knight, and slew him in plain battle, and so he took his horse and his armour and fought with the green knight, and won him in plain battle, and in likewise he served the red knight, and after in the same wise he served the blue knight, and won him in plain battle. Then, said the lady, he hath overcome Sir Persant of Inde, one of the noblest knights of the world. And the dwarf said, He hath won all the four brethren, and slain the black knight. And yet he did more tofore: he overthrew Sir Kay, and left him nigh dead upon the ground; also he did a great battle with Sir Launcelot, and there they departed on even hands: and then Sir Launcelot made him knight. Dwarf, said the lady, I am glad of these tidings, therefore go thou in an hermitage of mine here by, and there shalt thou bear with thee of my wine in two flagons of silver, they are of two gallons, and also two cast of bread, with fat venison bake, and dainty fowls; and a cup of gold here I deliver thee, that is rich and precious, and bear all this to mine hermitage, and put it in the hermit's hands. And sithen go thou unto my sister and greet her well, and command me unto that gentle knight, and pray him to eat and to drink, and make him strong; and say ye him I thank him of his courtesy and goodness, that he would take upon him such labour for me that never did him bounty nor courtesy. Also pray him that he be of good heart and courage, for he shall meet with a full noble knight, but he is neither of bounty, courtesy, nor gentleness, for he attendeth unto no thing but to murther, and that is the cause I cannot praise him nor love him. So this dwarf departed and came to Sir Persant,

where he found the damoisel Lynet and Sir Beaumains, and there he told them all as ye have heard, and then they took their leave; but Sir Persant took an ambling hackney and conveyed them on their ways and then beleft them to God. And so within a little while they came to that hermitage, and there they drank the wine, and ate the venison and the fowls baken.

And so when they had repasted them well, the dwarf returned again with his vessel unto the castle again, and there met with him the red knight of the red launds, and asked him from whence that he came, and where he had been. Sir, said the dwarf, I have been with my lady's sister of this castle, and she hath been at king Arthur's court, and brought a knight with her. Then I account her travail but lost. For though she had brought with her Sir Launcelot, Sir Tristram, Sir Lamorak, or Sir Gawaine, I would think myself good enough for them all. It may well be, said the dwarf, but this knight hath passed all the perilous passages and slain the black knight, and other two mo, and won the green knight, the red knight, and the blue knight. Then is he one of these four that I have afore rehearsed. He is none of tho, said the dwarf, but he is a king's son. What is his name? said the red knight of the red laund. That will I not tell you, said the dwarf, but Sir Kay upon scorn named him Beaumains. I care not, said the knight, what knight soever he be, for I shall soon deliver him; and if I ever match him he shall have a shameful death, as many other have had. That were pity, said the dwarf, and it is marvel that ye make such shameful war upon noble knights.

How the damoisel and Beaumains came to the siege, and came to a sycamore tree, and there Beaumains blew a horn, and then the knight of the red launds came to fight with him.

Now leave we the knight and the dwarf, and speak we of Beaumains, that all night lay in the hermitage, and upon the morn he and the damoisel Lynet heard their mass, and brake their fast. And then they took their horses and rode throughout a fair forest, and then they came to a plain, and saw where were many pavilions and tents, and a fair castle, and there was much smoke and great noise. And when they came near the siege Sir Beaumains espied upon great trees, as he rode, how there hung full goodly armed knights by the neck, and their shields about their necks with their swords, and gilt spurs upon their heels, and so there hung nigh a forty knights shamefully with full rich arms. Then Sir Beaumains abated his countenance, and said, What meaneth this? Fair sir, said the damoisel, abate not your cheer for all this sight, for ye must courage yourself, or else ye ben all shent [1], for all these knights came hither to this siege to rescue my sister dame Lyones, and when the red knight of the red laund had overcome them he put them to this shameful death, without mercy and pity. And in the same wise he will serve you but if ye quit you the better. Now Jesu defend me, said Sir Beaumains, from such a villainous death and shenship [2] of arms, for rather than I should so be faren [3] withal, I would rather be slain manly in plain battle. So were ye better, said the damoisel; for trust not in him is no courtesy, but all goeth to the death or shameful

[1] disgraced. [2] disgrace. [3] used.

murther; and that is pity, for he is a full likely man, well made of body, and a full noble knight of prowess, and a lord of great lands and possessions. Truly, said Beaumains, he may well be a good knight, but he useth shameful customs, and it is marvel that he endureth so long, that none of the noble knights of my lord Arthur's have not dealt with him. And then they rode to the dikes, and saw them double diked with full warly [1] walls, and there were lodged many great lords nigh the walls, and there was great noise of minstrelsy, and the sea betid [2] upon the one side of the walls, where were many ships and mariners' noise, with hale and how. And also, there was fast by a sycamore tree, and there hung an horn, the greatest that ever they saw, of an elephant's bone, and this knight of the red laund had hanged it up there, that if there came any errant knight he must blow that horn, and then will he make him ready, and come to him to do battle But sir, I pray you, said the damoisel Lynet, blow ye not the horn till it be high noon, for now it is about prime, and now increased his might, that, as men say, he hath seven men's strength. Ah, fie for shame, fair damoisel, say ye never so more to me, for, an he were as good a knight as ever was, I shall never fail him in his most might, for either I will win worship worshipfully, or die knightly in the field. And therewith he spurred his horse straight to the sycamore tree, and blew so the horn eagerly that all the siege and the castle rang thereof. And then there leapt out knights out of their tents and pavilions, and they within the castle looked over the walls and out at windows.

[1] warlike. [2] beat.

Then the red knight of the red launds armed him hastily, and two barons set on his spurs upon his heels, and all was blood-red, his armour, spear, and shield. And an earl buckled his helm upon his head, and then they brought him a red spear and a red steed, and so he rode into a little vale under the castle, that all that were in the castle and at the siege might behold the battle.

How the two knights met togethers, and of their talking, and how they began their battle.

Sir, said the damoisel Lynet unto Sir Beaumains, look ye be glad and light, for yonder is your deadly enemy, and at yonder window is my lady my sister, dame Lyones. Where? said Beaumains. Yonder, said the damoisel, and pointed with her finger. That is truth, said Beaumains. She beseemeth afar the fairest lady that ever I looked upon, and truly, he said, I ask no better quarrel than now for to do battle, for truly she shall be my lady, and for her I will fight. And ever he looked up to the window with glad countenance. And the lady Lyones made courtesy to him down to the earth, with holding up both their hands. With that the red knight of the red launds called to Sir Beaumains, Leave, sir knight, thy looking, and behold me, I counsel thee, for I warn thee well she is my lady, and for her I have done many strong battles. If thou have so done, said Beaumains, me seemeth it was but waste labour, for she loveth none of thy fellowship, and thou to love that loveth not thee, is but great folly. For an I understood that she were not glad of my coming I would be avised or I did battle for her. But I understand by the besieging of this castle,

she may forbear thy fellowship. And therefore wit thou well, thou red knight of the red launds, I love her, and will rescue her, or else to die. Sayest thou that, said the red knight, me seemeth thou ought of reason to beware by yonder knights that thou sawest hang upon yonder trees. Fie for shame, said Beaumains, that ever thou shouldest say or do so evil, for in that thou shamest thyself and knighthood, and thou mayest be sure there will no lady love thee that knoweth thy wicked customs. And now thou weenest that the sight of these hanged knights should fear me. Nay truly, not so, that shameful sight causeth me to have courage and hardiness against thee, more than I would have had against thee an thou were a well-ruled knight. Make thee ready, said the red knight of the red launds, and talk no longer with me. Then Sir Beaumains bad the damoisel go from him, and then they put their spears in their rests, and came togethers with all their might that they had both, and either smote other in mids of their shields, that the paytrellys[1], surcingles, and cruppers brast[2], and fell to the earth both, and the reins of their bridles in their hands, and so they lay a great while sore stonied that all that were in the castle and in the siege wend[3] their necks had been broken, and then many a stranger and other said the strange knight was a big man and a noble juster, for or now we saw never no knight match the red knight of the red launds: thus they said, both within the castle and without. Then lightly they avoided their horses, and put their shields afore them, and drew their swords, and ran togethers like two fierce

[1] breastplates. [2] were broken. [3] thought.

lions, and either gave other such buffets upon their helms that they reeled backward both two strides, and then they recovered both, and hew great pieces off their harness and their shields, that a great part fell into the fields.

How after long fighting Beaumains overcame the knight and would have slain him, but at the request of the lords he saved his life, and made him to yield him to the lady.

And then thus they fought till it was past noon and never would stint[1] till at last they lacked wind both, and then they stood wagging and scattering, panting, blowing and bleeding, that all that beheld them for the most part wept for pity. So when they had rested them a while they yede[2] to battle again, tracing, racing, foining, as two boars. And at sometime they took their run as it had been two rams, and hurtled togethers that sometime they fell grovelling to the earth: and at sometime they were so amazed that either took other's sword in stead of his own.

Thus they endured till even-song time, that there was none that beheld them might know whether was like to win the battle; and their armour was so forhewen that men might see their naked sides, and in other places they were naked, but ever the naked places they did defend. And the red knight was a wily knight of war, and his wily fighting taught Sir Beaumains to be wise; but he abought it full sore ere he did espy his fighting. And thus by assent of them both, they granted either other to rest; and so they set them down upon two mole-hills there besides

[1] cease. [2] went.

the fighting place, and either of them unlaced his helm and took the cold wind, for either of their pages was fast by them, to come when they called to unlace their harness and to set them on again at their commandment. And then when Sir Beaumains' helm was off he looked up to the window, and there he saw the fair lady dame Lyones; and she made him such countenance that his heart waxed light and jolly; and therewith he bad the red knight of the red launds make him ready, and let us do the battle to the utterance. I will well, said the knight. And then they laced up their helms, and their pages avoided, and they stept togethers and fought freshly. But the red knight of the red launds awaited him, and at an overthwart smote him within the hand, that his sword fell out of his hand: and yet he gave him another buffet upon the helm that he fell grovelling to the earth, and the red knight fell over him for to hold him down. Then cried the maiden Lynet on high, O Sir Beaumains, where is thy courage become! Alas, my lady my sister beholdeth thee, and she sobbeth and weepeth, that maketh mine heart heavy. When Sir Beaumains heard her say so, he abrayed[1] up with a great might and gat him upon his feet, and lightly he leapt to his sword and gripped it in his hand, and doubled his pace unto the red knight, and there they fought a new battle together. But Sir Beaumains then doubled his strokes, and smote so thick that he smote the sword out of his hand, and then he smote him upon the helm that he fell to the earth, and Sir Beaumains fell upon him, and unlaced his helm to have slain him; and then he yielded him and

[1] started.

asked mercy, and said with a loud voice, O noble knight I yield me to thy mercy. Then Sir Beaumains bethought him upon the knights that he had made to be hanged shamefully, and then he said, I may not with my worship save thy life, for the shameful deaths thou hast caused many full good knights to die. Sir, said the red knight of the red launds, hold your hand and ye shall know the causes why I put them to so shameful a death. Say on, said Sir Beaumains. Sir, I loved once a lady, a fair damoisel, and she had her brother slain, and she said it was Sir Launcelot du Lake, or else Sir Gawaine, and she prayed me as that I loved her heartily that I would make her a promise by the faith of my knighthood, for to labour daily in arms until I met with one of them, and all that I might overcome I should put them unto a villainous death; and this is the cause that I have put all these knights to death, and so I ensured her to do all the villainy unto king Arthur's knights, and that I should take vengeance upon all these knights. And, sir, now I will thee tell that every day my strength increaseth till noon, and all this time have I seven men's strength. . . .

How Sir Gareth, otherwise called Beaumains, came to the presence of his lady, and how they took acquaintance, and of their love.

And then came forth dame Lyones arrayed like a princess, and there she made him passing good cheer, and he her again. And they had goodly language and lovely countenance together. . . .

How Sir Gareth knowledged that they loved each other to king Arthur, and of the appointment of their wedding.

And among all these ladies she was named the fairest and peerless. Then when Sir Gawaine saw her, there was many a goodly look and goodly words, that all men of worship had joy to behold them. Then came king Arthur and many other kings, and dame Guenever and the queen of Orkney. And there the king asked his nephew Sir Gareth whether he would have that lady as paramour or to have her to his wife. My lord, wit you well that I love her above all ladies living. Now, fair lady, said king Arthur, what say ye? Most noble king, said dame Lyones, wit you well that my lord Sir Gareth is to me more lever to have and weld[1] as my husband, than any king or prince that is christened, and if I may not have him I promise you I will never have none. For, my lord Arthur, said dame Lyones, wit ye well he is my first love, and he shall be the last: and if ye will suffer him to have his will and free choice, I dare say he will have me. That is truth, said Sir Gareth, and I have not you and weld[1] not you as my wife, there shall never lady ne gentlewoman rejoice me. What nephew, said the king, is the wind in that door! for wit ye well I would not for the stint of my crown to be causer to withdraw your hearts, and wit ye well ye cannot love so well but I shall rather increase it than distress it. And also ye shall have my love and my lordship in the uttermost wise that may lie in my power. And in the same wise said Sir Gareth's mother. Then

[1] possess.

there was made a provision for the day of marriage, and by the king's advice it was provided that it should be at Michaelmas following, at Kink-Kenadon by the sea-side, for there is a plentiful country. And so it was cried in all the places through the royaume.[1] And then Sir Gareth sent his summons to all these knights and ladies that he had won in battle tofore, that they should be at his day of marriage at Kink-Kenadon by the sands. And then dame Lyones and the damsel Lynet, with Sir Gringamore, rode to their castle, and a goodly and a rich ring she gave to Sir Gareth, and he gave her another. And king Arthur gave her a rich bee[2] of gold, and so she departed. And king Arthur and his fellowship rode toward Kink-Kenadon, and Sir Gareth brought his lady on the way, and so came to the king again and rode with him. Lord! the great cheer that Sir Launcelot made of Sir Gareth and he of him: for there was never no knight that Sir Gareth loved so well as he did Sir Launcelot, and ever for the most party he would be in Sir Launcelot's company: for after Sir Gareth had espied Sir Gawaine's conditions, he withdrew himself from his brother Sir Gawaine's fellowship, for he was vengeable, and where he hated he would be avenged with murther, and that hated Sir Gareth.

So it drew fast to Michaelmas, and thither came dame Lyones the lady of the castle perilous and her sister dame Lynet, with Sir Gringamore their brother with them: for he had the conduct of these ladies. And there they were lodged at the device of king Arthur. And upon Michaelmas-day

[1] realm. [2] jewel.

the bishop of Canterbury made the wedding betwixt Sir Gareth and the lady Lyones with great solemnity.—*Le Morte D'Arthur.*

LORD BERNERS

1467 (?)—1532

THE CHRONICLES OF FROISSART

1. DEATH OF JAQUES D'ARTEVELD[1]

In this season reigned in Flanders in great prosperity and puissance Jaques d'Arteveld of Ghent, who was as great with the king of England as he would desire: and he had promised the king to make him lord and heritor of Flanders, and to endue his son the prince of Wales therewith, and to make the county of Flanders a dukedom. For the which cause about the feast of Saint John Baptist, the year of our Lord God MCCCXLVI, the king of England was come to Sluys with many lords and knights, and had brought thither with him the young prince his son, on the trust of the promise of Jaques d'Arteveld. The king with all his navy lay in the haven of Sluys, and there he kept his house, and thither came to visit him his friends of Flanders. There were great councils between the king and Jaques d'Arteveld on the one party and the counsels of the good towns of Flanders on the other party; so that they of the country were not of the agreement with the king nor with Jaques d'Arteveld, who preached to them that they should disherit the earl Louis their own natural lord, and also his young son Louis, and to inherit the son of the king of England;

[1] Berners spells it 'Dartuell' throughout.

the which thing they said surely they would never agree unto. And so the last day of their council, the which was kept in the haven of Sluys in the king's great ship, called the *Katherine*, there they gave a final answer by common accord, and said: 'Sir, ye have desired us to a thing that is great and weighty, the which hereafter may sore touch the country of Flanders and our heirs. Truly we know not at this day no person in the world that we love the preferment of so much as we do yours; but, sir, this thing we cannot do alone, without that all the commonalty of Flanders accord to the same. Sir, we shall go home, and every man speak with his company generally in every town, and as the most part agree, we shall be content: and within a month we shall be here with you again and then give you a full answer, so that ye shall be content.' The king nor Jaques d'Arteveld could as then have none other answer: they would fain have had a short day, but it would not be. So thus departed that council, and every man went home to their own towns.

Jaques d'Arteveld tarried a little season with the king, and still he promised the king to bring them to his intent; but he was deceived, for as soon as he came to Ghent, he went no more out again. For such of Ghent as had been at Sluys at the council there, when they were returned to Ghent, or Jaques d'Arteveld was come into the town, great and small they assembled in the market-place; and there it was openly showed what request the king of England had made to them by the setting on of Jaques d'Arteveld. Then every man began to murmur against Jaques, for that request pleased them nothing, and said

that by the grace of God there should no such untruth be found in them, as willingly to disherit their natural lord and his issue, to inherit a stranger: and so they all departed from the market-place, not content with Jaques d'Arteveld.

Now behold and see what fortune fell. If he had been as welcome to Ghent as he was to Bruges and Ypres, they would [have] agreed to his opinion, as they did; but he trusted so much in his prosperity and greatness, that he thought soon to reduce them to his pleasure.

When he returned, he came into Ghent about noon. They of the town knew of his coming, and many were assembled together in the street whereas he should pass. And when they saw him, they began to murmur, and began to run together three heads in one hood and said: 'Behold yonder great master, who will order all Flanders after his pleasure, the which is not to be suffered.' Also there were words sown through all the town, how Jaques d'Arteveld had nine year assembled all the revenues of Flanders without any count given, and thereby hath kept his estate, and also sent great richesse out of the country into England secretly. These words set them of Ghent on fire, and as he rode through the street, he perceived that there was some new matter against him, for he saw such as were wont to make reverence to him, as he came by he saw them turn their backs toward him and enter into their houses. Then he began to doubt; and as soon as he was alighted in his lodging, he closed fast his gates, doors, and windows. This was scant[1] done but all the street was full of men, and specially of them of the small

[1] hardly.

crafts: there they assailed his house both behind and before, and the house [was] broken up. He and his within the house defended themselves a long space, and slew and hurt many without; but finally he could not endure, for three parts of the men of the town were at that assault. When Jaques saw that he was so sore oppressed, he came to a window, with great humility, bare-headed, and said, with fair language: 'Good people, what aileth you? Why be you so sore troubled against me? In what manner have I displeased you? Show me, and I shall make you amends at your pleasures.' Then such as heard him answered all with one voice: 'We will have accompt made of the great treasure of Flanders, that ye have sent out of the way without any title of reason.' Then Jaques answered meekly and said: 'Certainly, sirs, of the treasure of Flanders I never took nothing: withdraw yourselves patiently into your houses, and come again to-morrow in the morning, and I shall make you so good accompt, that of reason ye shall be content.' Then all they answered and said: 'Nay, we will have accompt made incontinent; ye shall not scape us so: we know for truth that ye have sent great richesse into England without our knowledge: wherefore ye shall die.' When he heard that word, he joined his hands together, and sore weeping said: 'Sirs, such as I am ye have made me, and ye have sworn to me, or this, to defend me against all persons, and now ye would slay me without reason. Ye may do it an ye will, for I am but one man among you all. For God's sake take better advice and remember the time past, and consider the great graces and courtesies that I have done to you: ye would

now render to me a small reward for the great goodness that I have done to you and to your town in time past. Ye know right well, merchandise was nigh lost in all this country, and by my means it is recovered: also I have governed you in great peace and rest, for in the time of my governing ye have had all things as ye would wish, corn, richesse, and all other merchandise.' Then they all cried with one voice: 'Come down to us, and preach not so high, and give us accompt of the great treasure of Flanders that ye have governed so long without any accompt making, the which pertaineth not to an officer to do, as to receive the goods of his lord, or of a country, without accompt.'

When Jaques saw that he could not appease them, he drew in his head and closed his window, and so thought to steal out on the back side into a church that joined to his house: but his house was so broken, that four hundred persons were entered into his house; and finally there he was taken and slain without mercy, and one Thomas Denis gave him his death-stroke. Thus Jaques d'Arteveld ended his days, who had been a great master in Flanders. Poor men first mounteth up and unhappy men slayeth them at the end. These tidings anon spread abroad the country: some were sorry thereof and some were glad.

In this season the earl Louis of Flanders was at Termonde, and he was right joyous when he heard of the death of Jaques d'Arteveld his old enemy: howbeit yet he durst not trust them of Flanders, nor go to Ghent. When the king of England, who lay all this season at Sluys, abiding the answer of the Flemings, heard how they of Ghent had slain Jaques d'Arteveld his great

friend, he was sore displeased. Incontinent he departed fro Sluys and entered into the sea, sore threatening the Flemings and the country of Flanders, and said how his death should be well revenged. Then the councils of the good towns of Flanders imagined well how the king of England would be sore displeased with this deed: then they determined to go and excuse themself, specially they of Bruges, Ypres, Courtrai, Andewarpe and of Francke. They sent into England to the king for a safe-conduct, that they might come to their excuse: the king, who was as then somewhat assuaged of his displeasure, granted their desire. Then there came into England men of estate out of the good towns of Flanders, except of Ghent. This was about the feast of Saint Michael, and the king being at Westminster beside London. There they so meekly excused them of the death of Jaques d'Arteveld, and sware solemnly that they knew nothing thereof till it was done; if they had, he was the man that they would have defended to the best of their powers; and said how they were right sorry of his death, for he had governed the country right wisely; and also they said that though they of Ghent had done that deed, they should make a sufficient amends, also saying to the king and his council that, though he be dead, yet the king was never the farther off fro the love and favour of them of Flanders in all things except the inheritance of Flanders, the which in no wise they of Flanders will put away fro the right heirs; saying also to the king: 'Sir, ye have fair issue, both sons and daughters. As for the prince of Wales your eldest son, he cannot fail but to be a great prince

without the inheritance of Flanders. Sir, ye have a young daughter, and we have a young lord, who is heritor of Flanders ; we have him in our keeping : may it please you to make a marriage between them two, so ever after the county of Flanders shall be in the issue of your child.' These words and such other appeased the king, and finally was content with the Flemings and they with him ; and so little and little the death of Jaques d'Arteveld was forgotten.

2. BATTLE OF CRESSY

The Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. The first, which was the prince's battle, the archers there stood in manner of a herse [1] and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton, and the earl of Arundel, with the second battle, were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and said to his marshals : 'Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis.' There were of the Genoways cross-bows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their cross-bows, that

[1] harrow.

they said to their constables: 'We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest.' These words came to the earl of Alençon, who said: 'A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need.' Also the same season there fell a great rain and a clipse[1] with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoways again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly, again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: 'Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason.' Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them, and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest press; the sharp

[1] flash of lightning (*une esclistre*).

arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoways, and when they were down, they could not relieve[1] again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Behaygne[2] called Charles of Luxembourg, son to the noble emperor Henry of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him: 'Where is the lord Charles my son?' His men said: 'Sir, we cannot tell; we think he be fighting.' Then he said: 'Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey: I require you bring me so far forward, that I may strike one stroke with my sword.' They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Behaygne his son, who wrote himself king of Behaygne and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle; but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king his father was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and mo than

[1] rise. [2] Bohemia.

four, and fought valiantly and so did his company; and they adventured themself so forward, that they were there all slain, and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other.

The earl of Alençon came to the battle right ordinately and fought with the Englishmen, and the earl of Flanders also on his part. These two lords with their companies coasted the English archers and came to the prince's battle, and there fought valiantly long. The French king would fain have come thither, when he saw their banners, but there was a great hedge of archers before him. The same day the French king had given a great black courser to sir Johan of Hainault, and he made the lord Johan of Fussels to ride on him and to bear his banner. The same horse took the bridle in the teeth and brought him through all the currours[1] of the Englishmen, and as he would have returned again, he fell in a great dike and was sore hurt, and had been there dead, an his page had not been, who followed him through all the battles and saw where his master lay in the dike, and had none other let but for his horse, for the Englishmen would not issue out of their battle for taking of any prisoner. Then the page alighted and relieved his master: then he went not back again the same way that they came, there was too many in his way.

This battle between Broye and Cressy this Saturday was right cruel and fell, and many a feat of arms done that came not to my knowledge. In the night divers knights and squires lost their masters, and sometime came on the Englishmen, who received them in such wise that they were

[1] scouts.

ever nigh slain; for there was none taken to mercy nor to ransom, for so the Englishmen were determined.

In the morning the day of the battle certain Frenchmen and Almains perforce opened the archers of the prince's battle and came and fought with the men of arms hand to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king: 'Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, sir Raynold Cobham, and other such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado.' Then the king said: 'Is my son dead or hurt or on the earth felled?' 'No, sir,' quoth the knight, 'but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid.' 'Well,' said the king, 'return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive: and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him.' Then the knight returned again to them and showed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and repoined[1] in that they had sent to the king as they did.

Sir Godfrey of Harcourt would gladly that the

[1] felt sorry.

earl of Harcourt his brother might have been saved; for he heard say by them that saw his banner how that he was there in the field on the French party: but sir Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slain or he could come at him, and so was also the earl of Aumarle his nephew. In another place the earl of Alençon and the earl of Flanders fought valiantly, every lord under his own banner; but finally they could not resist against the puissance of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slain, and divers other knights and squires. Also the earl Louis of Blois, nephew to the French king, and the duke of Lorraine fought under their banners, but at last they were closed in among a company of Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slain for all their prowess. Also there was slain the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Saint-Pol and many other.

In the evening the French king, who had left about him no mo than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof sir Johan of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king, for his horse was slain with an arrow, then he said to the king: 'Sir, depart hence, for it is time; lese not yourself wilfully: if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season.' And so he took the king's horse by the bridle and led him away in a manner perforce. Then the king rode till he came to the castle of Broye. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark: then the king called the captain, who came to the walls and said: 'Who is that calleth there this time of night?' Then the king said: 'Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of France.' The

captain knew then it was the king, and opened the gate and let down the bridge. Then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, sir Johan of Hainault, sir Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord d'Aubigny and the lord of Montsault. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested.

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed fro their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themself against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

3. SIEGE OF CALAIS

In the town of Calais there was captain a knight of Burgoyne called sir John de Vienne, and with him was sir Arnold d'Audrehem, sir John de Surie, sir Bardon de Belborne, sir Godfrey de la Motte, sir Pepin de Wierre and divers other knights and squires. When the king of England was come before Calais, he laid his siege and ordained bastides[1] between the town and the river: he made carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, and set the houses like streets and covered them with reed and broom, so that it was like a little town; and there was everything to sell, and a market-place to be kept every Tuesday and Saturday for flesh and fish, mercery ware, houses for cloth, for bread, wine, and all other things necessary, such as came out of England or out of Flanders; there they might buy what

[1] fortresses.

they list. The Englishmen ran oftentimes into the country of Guines, and into Ternois, and to the gates of Saint-Omer's, and sometime to Boulogne; they brought into their host great preys. The king would not assail the town of Calais, for he thought it but a lost labour: he spared his people and his artillery, and said how he would famish them in the town with long siege, without the French king come and raise his siege perforce.

When the captain of Calais saw the manner and the order of the Englishmen, then he constrained all poor and mean people to issue out of the town, and on a Wednesday there issued out of men, women, and children mo than seventeen hundred; and as they passed through the host, they were demanded why they departed, and they answered and said, because they had nothing to live on: then the king did them that grace that he suffered them to pass through his host without danger, and gave them meat and drink to dinner, and every person two pence sterling in alms, for the which divers many of them prayed for the king's prosperity.

4. SURRENDER OF CALAIS

After that the French king was thus departed fro Sangate, they within Calais saw well how their succour failed them, for the which they were in great sorrow. Then they desired so much their captain, sir Johan of Vienne, that he went to the walls of the town and made a sign to speak with some person of the host. When the king heard thereof, he sent thither sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset. Then sir Johan of Vienne said to them:

'Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deeds of arms, and ye know well how the king my master hath sent me and other to this town and commanded us to keep it to his behoof in such wise that we take no blame, nor to him no damage; and we have done all that lieth in our power. Now our succours hath failed us, and we be so sore strained, that we have not to live withal, but that we must all die or else enrage for famine, without the noble and gentle king of yours will take mercy on us: the which to do we require you to desire him, to have pity on us, and to let us go and depart as we be, and let him take the town and castle and all the goods that be therein, the which is great abundance.' Then sir Gaultier of Manny said: 'Sir, we know somewhat of the intention of the king our master, for he hath showed it unto us: surely know for truth it is not his mind that ye nor they within the town should depart so, for it is his will that ye all should put yourselves into his pure will, to ransom all such as pleaseth him and to put to death such as he list; for they of Calais hath done him such contraries and despites, and hath caused him to dispend so much good, and lost many of his men, that he is sore grieved against them.' Then the captain said: 'Sir, this is too hard a matter to us. We are here within, a small sort of knights and squires, who hath truly served the king our master as well as ye serve yours in like case. And we have endured much pain and unease; but we shall yet endure as much pain as ever knights did, rather than to consent that the worst lad in the town should have any more evil than the greatest of us all: therefore, sir, we pray you that of your humility, yet that

ye will go and speak to the king of England and desire him to have pity of us; for we trust in him so much gentleness, that by the grace of God his purpose shall change.'

Sir Gaultier of Manny and sir Basset returned to the king and declared to him all that had been said. The king said he would none otherwise but that they should yield them up simply to his pleasure. Then sir Gaultier said: 'Sir, saving your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall give by this an evil ensample: if ye send any of us your servants into any fortress, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of them in the town to death after they be yielded; for in like wise they will deal with us, if the case fell like.' The which words divers other lords that were there present sustained and maintained. Then the king said: 'Sirs, I will not be alone against you all; therefore, sir Gaultier of Manny, ye shall go and say to the capitain that all the grace that he shall find now in me is that they let six of the chief burgesses of the town come our bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-legged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and let them six yield themself purely to my will, and the residue I will take to mercy.'

Then sir Gaultier returned and found sir Johan of Vienne still on the wall, abiding for an answer. Then sir Gaultier showed him all the grace that he could get of the king. 'Well,' quoth sir Johan, 'sir, I require you tarry here a certain space, till I go into the town and show this to the commons of the town, who sent me hither. Then sir Johan went unto the market-place and sowned the

common bell: then incontinent men and women assembled there: then the captain made report of all that he had done, and said, 'Sirs, it will be none otherwise; therefore now take advice and make a short answer.' Then all the people began to weep and to make such sorrow, that there was not so hard a heart, if they had seen them, but that would have had great pity of them: the captain himself wept piteously. At last the most rich burgess of all the town, called Eustace of Saint Peters, rose up and said openly: 'Sirs, great and small, great mischief it should be to suffer to die such people as be in this town, other by famine or otherwise, when there is a mean to save them. I think he or they should have great merit of our Lord God that might keep them fro such mischief. As for my part, I have so good trust in our Lord God, that if I die in the quarrel to save the residue, that God would pardon me: wherefore to save them I will be the first to put my life in jeopardy.' When he had thus said, every man worshipped him and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping and sore sighs. Then another honest burgess rose and said: 'I will keep company with my gossip Eustace.' He was called Johan d'Aire. Then rose up Jaques of Wissant, who was rich in goods and heritage; he said also that he would hold company with his two cousins. In like wise so did Peter of Wissant his brother: and then rose two other; they said they would do the same. Then they went and apparelled them as the king desired.

Then the captain went with them to the gate: there was great lamentation made of men, women and children at their departing: then the gate

was opened and he issued out with the six burgesses and closed the gate again, so that they were between the gate and the barriers. Then he said to sir Gaultier of Manny: 'Sir, I deliver here to you as captain of Calais by the whole consent of all the people of the town these six burgesses, and I swear to you truly that they be and were to-day most honourable, rich, and most notable burgesses of all the town of Calais. Wherefore, gentle knight, I require you pray the king to have mercy on them, that they die not.' Quoth sir Gaultier: 'I cannot say what the king will do, but I shall do for them the best I can.' Then the barriers were opened, the six burgesses went towards the king, and the captain entered again into the town.

When sir Gaultier presented these burgesses to the king, they kneeled down and held up their hands and said: 'Gentle king, behold here we six, who were burgesses of Calais and great merchants: we have brought to you the keys of the town and of the castle, and we submit ourselves clearly into your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain. Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high noblesse.' Then all the earls and barons and other that were there, wept for pity. The king looked felly[1] on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais, for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off: then every man required the king for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf: then sir Gaultier of Manny said: 'Ah, noble king, for

[1] angrily.

God's sake, refrain your courage: ye have the name of sovereign noblesse; therefore now do not a thing that should blemish your renome, nor to give cause to some to speak of you villainy. Every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who by their own wills put themself into your grace to save their company.' Then the king wryed[1] away fro him, and commanded to send for the hangman, and said: 'They of Calais have caused many of my men to be slain, wherefore these shall die in like wise.' Then the queen, being great with child, kneeled down, and sore weeping, said: 'Ah, gentle sir, sith[2] I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you; therefore now I humbly require you, in the honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary, and for the love of me, that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses.' The king beheld the queen, and stood still in a study a space, and then said: 'Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you. Wherefore I give them to you, to do your pleasure with them.' Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken fro their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure: and then she gave each of them six nobles and made them to be brought out of the host in safe-guard and set at their liberty.

5. KING JOHN TAKEN PRISONER AT POITIERS

The prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruel as a lion, took that day great pleasure to fight and to chase his enemies. The lord John

[1] turned. [2] since

Chandos, who was with him, of all that day never left him nor never took heed of taking of any prisoner: then at the end of the battle he said to the prince: 'Sir, it were good that you rested here and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad, nor I can see no more banners nor pennons of the French party; wherefore, sir, rest and refresh you, for ye be sore chafed.' Then the prince's banner was set up a-high on a bush, and trumpets and clarions began to sown[1]. Then the prince did off his bassenet[2], and the knights for his body and they of his chamber were ready about him, and a red pavilion pight[3] up, and then drink was brought forth to the prince and for such lords as were about him, the which still increased as they came fro the chase: there they tarried and their prisoners with them. And when the two marshals were come to the prince, he demanded of them if they knew any tidings of the French king. They answered and said: 'Sir, we hear none of certainty, but we think verily he is other[4] dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battles.' Then the prince said to the earl of Warwick and to sir Raynold Cobham: 'Sirs, I require you go forth and see what ye can know, that at your return ye may show me the truth.' These two lords took their horses and departed fro the prince and rode up a little hill to look about them: then they perceived a flock of men of arms coming together right wearily: there was the French king afoot in great peril, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters; they had taken him fro sir Denis Morbecke perforce, and such as were most of force said, 'I have taken him'; 'Nay,'

[1] sound. [2] helmet. [3] pitched. [4] either.

quoth another, 'I have taken him': so they strave which should have him. Then the French king, to eschew that peril, said: 'Sirs, strive not: lead me courteously, and my son, to my cousin the prince, and strive not for my taking, for I am so great a lord to make you all rich.' The king's words somewhat appeased them; howbeit ever as they went they made riot and brawled for the taking of the king. When the two foresaid lords saw and heard that noise and strife among them, they came to them and said: 'Sirs, what is the matter that ye strive for?' 'Sirs,' said one of them, 'it is for the French king, who is here taken prisoner, and there be mo than ten knights and squires that challengeth the taking of him and of his son.' Then the two lords entered into the press and caused every man to draw aback, and commanded them in the prince's name on pain of their heads to make no more noise nor to approach the king no nearer, without they were commanded. Then every man gave room to the lords, and they alighted and did their reverence to the king, and so brought him and his son in peace and rest to the prince of Wales.

6. THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES A SUPPER TO THE FRENCH KING

THE same day of the battle at night the prince made a supper in his lodging to the French king and to the most part of the great lords that were prisoners. The prince made the king and his son, the lord James of Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Estampes, the earl Dammartin, the earl of Joinville and the lord

of Pertenay to sit all at one board, and other lords, knights and squires at other tables; and always the prince served before the king as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board for any desire that the king could make, but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was. But then he said to the king: 'Sir, for God's sake make none evil nor heavy cheer, though God this day did not consent to follow your will; for, sir, surely the king my father shall bear you as much honour and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be friends together after. And, sir, methink ye ought to rejoice, though the journey be not as ye would have had it, for this day ye have won the high renome of prowess and have passed this day in valiantness all other of your party. Sir, I say not this to mock you, for all that be on our party, that saw every man's deeds, are plainly accorded by true sentence to give you the prize and chaplet.' Therewith the Frenchmen began to murmur and said among themself how the prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimation he should prove a noble man, if God send him life and to persevere in such good fortune.

7. THE JACQUERIE

Anon after the deliverance of the king of Navarre, there began a marvellous tribulation in the realm of France, as in Beauvoisin, in Brie, on the river of Marne, in Laonnois, and about Soissons. For certain people of the common villages, without any head or ruler, assembled together in Beauvoisin. In the beginning they passed not a hundred

in number: they said how the noblemen of the realm of France, knights and squires, shamed the realm, and that it should be a great wealth to destroy them all; and each of them said it was true, and said all with one voice: 'Shame have he that doth not his power to destroy all the gentlemen of the realm!'

Thus they gathered together without any other counsel, and without any armour saving with staves and knives, and so went to the house of a knight dwelling thereby, and brake up his house and slew the knight and the lady and all his children great and small and brent[1] his house. And then they went to another castle, and took the knight thereof and bound him fast to a stake, and then violated his wife and his daughter before his face, and then slew the lady and his daughter and all his other children, and then slew the knight by great torment and brent and beat down the castle. And so they did to divers other castles and good houses; and they multiplied so that they were a six thousand, and ever as they went forward they increased, for such like as they were fell ever to them, so that every gentleman fled fro them and took their wives and children with them, and fled ten or twenty leagues off to be in surety, and left their houses void and their goods therein. . . .

They made among them a king, one of Clermont in Beauvoisin: they chose him that was most ungraciousest of all other and they called him king Jaques Goodman, and so thereby they were called companions of the Jaquerie. They destroyed and brent in the country of Beauvoisin about Corbie, Amiens, and Montdidier, mo than three-

[1] burnt.

score good houses and strong castles. In like manner these unhappy people were in Brie and Artois, so that all the ladies, knights, and squires of that country were fain to fly away to Meaux in Brie, as well the duchess of Normandy and the duchess of Orleans as divers other ladies and damosels, or else they had been violated and after murdered. Also there were a certain of the same ungracious people between Paris and Noyon and between Paris and Soissons, and all about in the land of Coucy, in the county of Valois, between Brieche and Laon, Noyon and Soissons. There were brent and destroyed mo than a hundred castles and good houses of knights and squires in that country.

8. THE JACQUERIE DISCOMFITED

In the season while these ungracious people reigned, there came out of Pruce [1] the earl of Foix and the captal of Buch his cousin, and in their way they heard, as they should have entered into France, of the great mischief that fell among the noblemen by these unhappy people; and in the city of Meaux was the duchess of Normandy and the duchess of Orleans and a three hundred other ladies and damosels, and the duke of Orleans also. Then the two said knights agreed to go and see these ladies and to comfort them to their powers: howbeit the captal was English, but as then it was truce between the two kings: they had in their company a threescore spears. And when they were come to Meaux in Brie, they were welcome to the ladies and damosels there: and when those of the Jaquerie understood that there

[1] Prussia.

was at Meaux such a number of ladies, young damosels, and noble children, then they assembled together and with them they of Valois, and so came to Meaux. And also certain of Paris that heard thereof went to them, so that they were in all a nine thousand, and daily mo resorted to them: so they came to the gates of the town of Meaux, and the people of the town opened the gates and suffered them to enter, so that all the streets were full of them to the market-place, whereas these noble ladies were lodged in a strong place closed about with the river of Marne: there came such a number against them that the ladies were sore afraid. Then these two knights and their company came to the gate of the market-place and issued out and set on those villains, who were but evil armed, the earl of Foix's banner and the duke of Orleans', and the captal's pennon. And when these villains saw these men of war, well apparelled, issued out to defend the place, the foremost of them began to recule[1] back, and the gentlemen pursued them with their spears and swords: and when they felt the great strokes, they reculed all at once and fell for haste each on other. Then all the noblemen issued out of the barriers and anon won the place, and entered in among their enemies and beat them down by heaps and slew them like beasts and chased them all out of the town, and slew so many that they were weary, and made many of them by heaps to fly into the river. Briefly, that day they slew of them mo than seven thousand, and none had scaped if they would a followed the chase any farther. And when these men of arms returned again to the town, they set fire thereon and brent it clean and all

[1] retire.

the villains of the town that they could close therein, because they took part with the Jaquerie. After this discomfiture thus done at Meaux they never assembled again together after; for the young Ingram, lord of Coucy, had about him certain men of war, and they ever slew them as they might meet with them without any mercy.

9. MADNESS OF THE FRENCH KING

THE day that the king departed was marvellous hot, for the sun as then naturally was in his chief force, and to the intent to declare the truth of everything, the same season that the king lay at Mans he was sore travailed[1] with daily sitting in council, and also he was not perfectly whole, nor had not been all that season; he was feeble in his brain and head, and did eat or drink but little, and nigh daily was in a hot fever, so that he was greatly annoyed and pained, and also for the displeasure that he had for the constable's hurt he was full of melancholy and his spirits sore troubled and travailed; and that his physicians spied well, and so did his uncles, but they could not remedy it, for no man durst counsel him to break his voyage into Bretaygne. And as it was informed me, as he rode forward in the forest of Mans, a great signification fell to him, by the which if he had done well, he should have called his council about him, and well advised himself or he had gone any further. Suddenly there came to the king a poor man, bare-headed, bare-legged, and bare-footed, and on his body a poor white coat. He seemed rather to be a fool than wise, and boldly suddenly he took the bridle

[1] wearied.

of the king's horse in his hands, and stopped the horse, and said : ' Sir king, ride no further forward, for thou art betrayed.' Those words entered into the king's head, whereby he was worse disposed in his health than he was before, so that his heart and his blood was moved. Then the king's servants strake so the poor man, that he let the king's horse go, and made no more of his words than of a fool's speaking ; which was folly, as divers men said : for at the least they should have better examined the man, and to have seen if he had been a natural fool or no, and to have known fro whence he came ; but they did not so, but left him behind, and he was never seen after to any man's knowledge ; but such as were near to the king heard him speak these words.

The king passed forth, and about twelve of the clock the king passed out of the forest, and came into a great plain all sandy. The sun also was in his height and shone bright, whose rays were marvellously hot, whereby the horses were sore chafed, and all such persons as were armed were sore oppressed with heat. The knights rode together by companies, some here and some there, and the king rode somewhat apart because of the dust : and the duke of Berry and the duke of Burgoyne rode on his left hand talking together, an acre brede[1] of land off fro the king. Other lords, as the earl of March, sir Jaques of Bourbon, sir Charles d'Albret, sir Philip d'Artois, sir Henry and sir Philip of Bar, sir Peter of Navarre, and other knights, rode by companies : the duke of Bourbon, the lord Coucy, sir Charles de Hanges, the baron d'Ivry, and divers other,

[1] 'broad' or 'breadth'.

rode on before the king, and not in his company, and they devised and talked together, and took no heed of that fell suddenly on the chief personage of the company, which was on the king's own person. Therefore the works of God are marvellous and his scourges are cruel and are to be doubted of all creatures. There hath been seen in the Old Testament, and also in the New, many figures and examples thereof: we read how Nabugodonosor, king of Assyrians, who reigned a season in such triumphant glory that there was none like him, and suddenly in his greatest force and glory the sovereign King our Lord God, King of heaven and of earth, Former and Ordainer of all things, apparelled this said king in such wise that he lost his wit and reign, and was seven year in that estate, and lived by acorns and mast that fell fro the oaks, and other wild apples and fruits, and had taste but as a boar or a swine; and after he had endured this penance, God restored him again to his memory and wit, and then he said to Daniel the prophet that there was none other God but the God of Israel. Now the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, hath been, is, and ever shall be as puissant to show his works as ever he was; wherefore no man should marvel of anything that he doth.

Now to the purpose why I speak all these words. A great influence fro heaven fell the said day upon the French king, and as divers said, it was his own fault, for according to the disposition of his body, and the state that he was in, and the warning that his physicians did give him, he should not have ridden in such a hot day, at that hour, but rather in the morning and in the evening

in the fresh air: wherefore it was a shame to them that were near about him, to suffer or to counsel him to do as he did. Thus as the French king rode upon a fair plain in the heat of the sun, which was as then of a marvellous height, and the king had on a jack covered with black velvet, which sore chafed him, and on his head a single bonnet of scarlet, and a chaplet of great pearls, which the queen had given him at his departure, and he had a page that rode behind him, bearing on his head a chapew of Montauban, bright and clear shining against the sun, and behind that page rode another bearing the king's spear, painted red, and fringed with silk, with a sharp head of steel: the lord de la Riviere had brought a dozen of them with him fro Toulouse, and that was one of them: he had given the whole dozen to the king, and the king had given three of them to his brother the duke of Orleans, and three to the duke of Bourbon. And as they rode thus forth, the page that bare the spear, whether it were by negligence, or that he fell asleep, he let the spear fall on the other page's head that rode before him, and the head of the spear made a great clash on the bright chapew of steel. The king, who rode but afore them, with the noise suddenly started, and his heart trembled, and into his imagination ran the impression of the words of the man that stopped his horse in the forest of Mans, and it ran into his thought that his enemies ran after him to slay and destroy him; and with that abusion[1] he fell out of his wit by feebleness of his head, and dashed his spurs to his horse, and drew out the sword, and turned to his pages, having no knowledge of any man, weening in himself to be in a battle

[1] deception.

enclosed with his enemies, and lift up his sword to strike, he cared not where, and cried and said: 'On, on, upon these traitors!' When the pages saw the king so inflamed with ire, they took good heed to themself, as it was time; they thought the king had been displeased because the spear fell down: then they stepped away fro the king.

The duke of Orleans was not as then far off fro the king. The king came to him with his naked sword in his hand: the king was as then in such a frenzy, and his heart so feeble, that he nother[1] knew brother nor uncle. When the duke of Orleans saw the king coming on him with his sword naked in his hand, he was abashed, and would not abide him: he wist not what he meant: he dashed his spurs to his horse and rode away, and the king after him. The duke of Burgoyne, who rode a little way off fro the king, when he heard the rushing of the horses, and heard the pages cry, he regarded that way, and saw how the king with his naked sword chased his brother the duke of Orleans. He was sore abashed and said: 'Out, harrow! what mischief is this? The king is not in his right mind, God help him: fly away, nephew, fly away, for the king would slay you.' The duke of Orleans was not well assured of himself, and fled away as fast as his horse might bear him, and knights and squires followed after, every man began to draw thither. Such as were far off thought they had chased an hare or a wolf, till at last they heard that the king was not well in his mind. The duke of Orleans saved himself. Then men of arms came all about the king, and suffered him to weary himself, and the more that he travailed the feebler he was,

[1] neither.

and when he strake at any man, they would fall down before the stroke: at this matter there was no hurt, but many overthrown, for there was none that made any defence. Finally, when the king was well wearied, and his horse sore chafed with sweat and great heat, a knight of Normandy, one of the king's chamberlains, whom the king loved very well, called Guilliam Martel, he came behind the king suddenly and took him in his arms, and held him still. Then all other approached, and took the sword out of his hands, and took him down fro his horse, and did off his jack to refresh him: then came his brother, and his three uncles, but he had clean lost the knowledge of them, and rolled his eyen in his head marvellously, and spake to no man. The lords of his blood were sore abashed, and wist not what to say or do. Then the dukes of Berry and of Burgoyne said: 'It behoveth us to return to Mans: this voyage is done for this time.' They said not as much as they thought, but they showed it right well after, when they came to Paris, to such as they loved not, as ye shall hear after.

Reasonably to consider all things according to the truth, it was great pity that the French king, who as at that time was reputed for the most noble and puissant king in all Christendom, fell so suddenly out of his mind without remedy, but as God would. Then the king was laid in a horse-litter, and so brought back again to the city of Mans. Then the marshals gave knowledge to all the army that they should return, and how that the voyage was broken as at that time: some had knowledge why, and some not. The night that the king came to Mans, the physicians

had much ado with him, and the lords of the blood royal had great trouble. Every man spake then in divers manners: some said that such as had the rule about the king had poisoned him, to bring the realm of France into shame and trouble. These words multiplied in such wise that the duke of Orleans and his uncles, and other lords of the blood royal noted them, and spake together and said: 'How say you, sirs? have ye not heard these words and how men do murmur in divers places upon them that hath had the governance of the king? Some saith he should be poisoned. Let us search how this may be known.' Then some of them said how it should be best known by the physicians: 'they ought to know it, for they are acquainted with his complexion.' The physicians were sent for and examined. They answered how the king of long time had engendered the same malady; 'for we knew well the weakness of his brain would sore trouble him, and at last show itself; we have said as much before this time.' Then the duke of Burgoyne said: 'Sirs, it is true, and therein ye did well acquit yourself; but he would neither believe you nor us, his affection was so sore set upon this voyage. It was devised in an evil time: this voyage hath dishonoured us all: it had been better that Clisson, and all those of his affinity, had been dead many a day agone, rather than the king to have taken this malady. These tidings shall spread abroad in many places, and seeing that he is but a young man, the blame shall be laid in us that be his uncles, and of his blood. Men will say that we should otherwise have counselled him: thus we shall be laid in the fault without cause. But,

sirs,' quoth the duke, 'yesterday when he went to dinner, were ye with him?' The physicians answered and said, 'Yes.' 'Did he eat his meat well?' quoth the duke. 'No, certainly,' quoth they, 'he did eat and drink but little, but sat and mused.' 'And who gave him drink last?' quoth the duke. 'Sir,' quoth they, 'we cannot tell you that, for as soon as the table was taken up, we departed and made us ready to ride, but his chamberlains or butlers can tell that best.' Then Robert de Tulles, a squire of Picardy, was sent for, and demanded who gave the king drink last. 'Sirs,' quoth he, 'sir Helion of Veilhac.' Then he was sent for. Then he was inquired where he had the wine that the king drank last of in his chamber when he went to his horse. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'here is Robert of Tulles and I, we took the say[1] in the presence of the king.' 'That is true,' quoth Robert of Tulles; 'ye need not doubt therein, nor have no suspiciousness, for as yet there is of the same wine in the flagons, whereof we will drink and assay before you.' Then the duke of Berry said: 'This need not, for surely the king is not poisoned. His malady proceedeth of evil counsel: it is no time to speak of this matter now; let all alone till another season.'

Thus after this manner these lords departed each fro other that night, and went to their lodging. Then the king's uncles had ordained four knights of honour to wait about the king, as sir Raynold of Roye, sir Raynold of Trie, the lord Garancieres and sir Guilliam of Martel, and the king's uncles sent commandment to the lord de la Riviere, and to sir John Mercier, to Montague, to the

[1] assay.

Begue of Villaines, to sir Guilliam of Bordes and to sir Helion of Veilhac, that they should in no wise come about the king till he were in better estate. The next day the king's uncles came to see the king, and found him right feeble. Then they demanded what rest he had taken that night: they were answered, 'But small rest.' 'That is poor news,' quoth the duke of Burgoyne. And then to them came the duke of Orleans, and so went all together to the king, and demanded of him how he did. He gave none answer, and looked strangely on them, and had lost clean the knowledge of them. These lords were sore abashed, and communed together and said: 'We have no more here to do. The king is in an hard case: we do him more trouble than aid or good: let us recommend him to his chamberlains and physicians; they can best take heed to him: let us go study how the realm may be governed, or else things will go amiss. Then the duke of Burgoyne said to the duke of Berry: 'Fair brother, it is best we draw to Paris, and ordain to have the king easily brought thither, for better we shall take heed on him there than here in these parties: and when we be there, let us assemble all the council of France, and ordain who shall have the governance of the realm, the duke of Orleans or we.' 'That is well said,' quoth the duke of Berry; 'it were good we studied where were best to have the king to lie that he might the sooner recover his health.' Then it was devised that he should be brought to the castle of Creil, where is good air, and a fair country on the river of Oise.

When this was ordained, then all the men of

war had leave to depart, and were commanded by the marshals every man to return peaceably into his own country, without doing of any violence or damage to the countries as they should pass through, and if any did, their lords and captains to make amends. And the king's two uncles, and the chancellor of France, sent anon sundry messengers to the good cities and towns of France, that they should take good heed to keep well their towns, considering that the king was not well disposed in his health. Their commandments were fulfilled. The people of the realm of France were sore abashed when they knew how the king was fallen sick and in a frenzy, and men spake largely against them that counselled the king to go into Bretaygne; and some other said, how the king was betrayed by them that bare the duke of Bretaygne, and sir Peter Craon, against the king. Men could not be let[1], but that they would speak: the matter was so high that words ran thereof diversely.

Thus finally the king was brought to Creil, and there left, in the keeping of his physicians, and of the said four knights. Then every man departed. And it was commanded to hide and to keep secret the king's malady fro the knowledge of the queen for a season, for as then she was great with child, and all of her court were commanded to keep it secret on pain of great punishment. Thus the king was at Creil, in the marches of Senlis and of Compiegne, on the river of Oise, and kept by the said knights and physicians, who gave him medicines, but for all that he recovered but little health.

[1] hindered.

SIR THOMAS MORE

1478–1535

FIRE AT HIS HOUSE AT CHELSEA AND DESTRUCTION OF HIS BARNS

Mistress Alyce,—In my most hearty wise, I recommend me to you. And whereas I am informed by my son Heron of the loss of our barns, and our neighbours' also, with all the corn that was therein, albeit (saving God's pleasure) it is great pity of so much good corn lost, yet sith[1] it hath liked him to send us such a chance, we must and are bounden not only to be content, but also to be glad of his visitation. He sent us all that we have lost: and sith he hath by such a chance taken it away again, his pleasure be fulfilled. Let us never grudge thereat, but take it in good worth, and heartily thank him, as well for adversity, as for prosperity. And peradventure we have more cause to thank him for our loss, than for our winning. For his wisdom better seeth what is good for us than we do ourselves. Therefore I pray you be of good cheer, and take all the household with you to church, and there thank God both for that he hath given us, and for that he hath taken from us, and for that he hath left us, which, if it please him, he can increase when he will. And if it please him to leave us yet less, at his pleasure be it. I pray you to make some good ensearch what my poor neighbours have lost, and bid them take no thought therefor, for an I should not leave myself a spoon, there shall no poor neighbour of mine bear no loss by

[1] since.

any chance happened in my house. I pray you be with my children and your household merry in God. And devise somewhat with your friends, what way were best to take, for provision to be made for corne for our household and for seed this year coming, if ye think it good that we keep the ground still in our hands. And whether ye think it good that we so shall do or not, yet I think it were not best suddenly thus to leave it all up, and to put away our folk of our farm, till we have somewhat advised us thereon. Howbeit if we have more now than ye shall need, and which can get them other masters, ye may then discharge us of them. But I would not that any man were suddenly sent away he wot[1] nere wither. At my coming hither, I perceived none other, but that I should tarry still with the King's grace. But now I shall, I think, because of this chance, get leave this next week to come home and see you; and then shall we further devise together upon all things, what order shall be best to take: and thus as heartily fare you well with all our children as you can wish.—*Letter to Lady More.*

EXECUTION OF THE LORD HASTINGS

Whereupon soon after, that is to wit, on the Friday the —— day of —— many lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in council, devising the honourable solemnity of the king's coronation, of which the time appointed then so near approached, that the pageants and subtleties were in making day and night at Westminster, and much victual killed therefor, that afterward was cast away. These lords so sitting together communing

[1] knows.

of this matter, the protector came in among them, first about nine of the clock, saluting them courteously, and excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying merely that he had been asleep that day. And after a little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely : ' My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn, I require you let us have a mess of them.' ' Gladly, my lord,' quoth he ; ' would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that.' And therewith in all the haste he sent his servant for a mess of strawberries. The protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon praying them to spare him for a little while, departed thence. And soon, after one hour, between ten and eleven, he returned into the chamber among them, all changed, with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and froting[1] and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place ; all the lords much dismayed and sore marvelling of this manner of sudden change, and what thing should him ail. Then, when he had sitten still awhile, thus he began : ' What were they worthy to have, that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the king and protector of his royal person and his realm ? ' At this question all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist[2] himself clear. Then the lord chamberlain, as he that for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the other affirmed the

[1] chafing. [2] knew.

same. 'That is,' quoth he, 'yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and other with her'—meaning the queen. At these words, many of the other lords were greatly abashed that favoured her. But the Lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moved by her, than by any other whom he loved better. Albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsel in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before devised to be beheaded at Pomfret, this self-same day, in which he was not ware that it was by other devised, that himself should the same day be beheaded at London. Then said the protector: 'Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress, and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft, wasted my body.' And therewith he plucked up his doublet-sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he showed a werish[1] withered arm and small, as it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel. For well they wist, that the queen was too wise to go about any such folly. And also if she would, yet would she of all folk least make Shore's wife of counsel, whom of all women she most hated, as that concubine whom the king, her husband, had most loved. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arm was ever such since his birth. Natheless, the lord chamberlain (which from the death of King Edward kept Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, saving, as it is said, he that while forbare her of reverence

[1] deformed.

toward his king, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and said, 'Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment.' 'What?' quoth the protector, 'thou servest me, I ween[1], with ifs and with ans. I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor.' And, therewith, as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap. At which token given, one cried treason without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in come there rushing men in harness, as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the Lord Hastings, 'I arrest thee, traitor.' 'What, me, my lord?' quoth he. 'Yea, thee, traitor,' quoth the protector. And another let fly at the Lord Stanley, which shrank at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth; for as shortly as he shrank, yet ran the blood about his ears. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diverse chambers, except the lord chamberlain, whom the protector bade speed and shrive him apace, 'For, by St. Paul,' quoth he, 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.' It boded him not to ask why, but heavily he took a priest at adventure, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much haste to dinner; which he might not go to till this were done for saving of his oath. So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off, and afterward his body with the head interred at Windsor beside the body of King Edward, whose both souls our Lord pardon.

[1] think.

A marvellous case is it to hear, either the warnings of that he should have voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the self night next before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a trusty secret messenger unto him at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for he was disposed utterly no longer to bide; he had so fearful a dream, in which him thought that a boar with his tusks so razed them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the protector gave the boar for his cognizance, this dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready if the Lord Hastings would go with him to ride so far yet the same night, that they should be out of danger ere day. 'Ay, good lord,' quoth the Lord Hastings to this messenger, 'leaneth my lord thy master so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth [1], or do rise in the night's rest by reason of his day thoughts? Tell him it is plain witchcraft to believe in such dreams; which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likely to make them true by our going if we were caught and brought back (as friends fail fleers), for then had the boar a cause likely to raze us with his tusks, as folk that fled for some falsehead, wherefore either is there no peril (nor none there is indeed), or if any be, it is rather in going than biding. And if we should needs cost fall in peril one way or other, yet had I liever [2] that men should see it were by other men's falsehead, than think it were either our own fault or faint heart. And therefore

[1] imagineth. [2] rather.

go to thy master, man, and commend me to him, and pray him be merry and have no fear; for I ensure him I am as sure of the man that he wotteth[1] of, as I am of my own hand.' 'God send grace, sir,' quoth the messenger, and went his way.

Certain is it also, that in the riding toward the Tower, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him almost to the falling; which thing albeit each man wot well daily happeneth to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it been, of an old rite and custom, observed as a token often times notably foregoing some great misfortune. Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enemious[2] scorn. The same morning ere he were up, came a knight unto him, as it were of courtesy to accompany him to the council, but of truth sent by the protector to haste him thitherward, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a mean man at that time, and now of great authority. This knight when it happed the lord chamberlain by the way to stay his horse, and commune a while with a priest whom he met in the Tower street, brake his tale and said merely to him: 'What, my lord, I pray you come on; whereto talk you so long with that priest? You have no need of a priest yet'; and therewith he laughed upon him, as though he would say, 'Ye shall have soon.' But so little wist that tother what he meant, and so little mistrusted, that he was never merrier nor never so full of good hope in his life; which self thing is often seen a sign of change. But I shall rather let any thing pass me, than the vain surety of

[1] knoweth. [2] proceeding from the enemy.

man's mind so near his death. Upon the very Tower wharf, so near the place where his head was off so soon after, there met he with one Hastings, a pursuivant of his own name. And of their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberlain had been accused unto King Edward, by the Lord Rivers, the queen's brother, in such wise that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) far fallen into the king's indignation, and stood in great fear of himself. And forasmuch as he now met this pursuivant in the same place, that jeopardy so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talk with him thereof with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place while he was therein. And therefore he said: 'Ah, Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with a heavy heart?' 'Yea, my lord,' quoth he, 'that remember I well: and thanked be God they got no good, nor ye none harm thereby.' 'Thou wouldest say so,' quoth he, 'if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet and moe shall shortly.' That meant he by the lords of the queen's kindred that were taken before, and should that day be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wist, but nothing ware, that the axe hung over his own head. 'In faith, man,' quoth he, 'I was never so sorry, nor never stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo, how the world is turned, now stand mine enemies in the danger, as thou mayest hap to hear more hereafter, and I never in my life so merry nor never in so great

surety.' O good God, the blindness of our mortal nature, when he most feared, he was in good surety: when he reckoned himself surest, he lost his life, and that within two hours after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemy, and secret to his friend: eath[1] to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage forestudied no perils. A loving man and passing well beloved. Very faithful, and trusty enough, trusting too much.—*History of King Richard the Third.*

MORE'S MEETING WITH RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY

Henry VIII, the unconquered King of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tunstall, whom the King made lately Master of the Rolls with such an universal applause; of whom I will say nothing, not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are greater than that they can be set forth by me, and they are so well known that they need not my commendations, unless I would, according to the proverb, 'show the sun with a lantern.' Those that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all

[1] easy.

worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the Provost of Casselsee: both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent: he was very learned in the law; and, as he had a great capacity, so, by a long practice in affairs, he was very dexterous at them. After we had met once and again, and could not come to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days, to receive the Prince's pleasure. And, since our business did admit of it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other, Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honour, and of a good rank in his town, yet it is not such as he deserves; for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a learneder and a better bred young man; for as he is both a very worthy person and a very knowing man, so he is so civil to all men, and yet so particularly kind to his friends, and is so full of candour and affection, that there is not, perhaps, above one or two to be found anywhere, that is in all respects so perfect a friend as he is. He is extraordinarily modest, there is no artifice in him, and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity than he has. His conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company did in a great measure lessen any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day, as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most

frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him, by accident, talking with a stranger, that seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that, by his looks and habit, I concluded he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me, and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, 'Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.' I answered, 'He should have been very welcome on your account.' 'And on his own too,' replied he, 'if you knew the man, for there is none alive that can give you so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do, which I know you very much desire.' 'Then,' said I, 'I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman.' 'But you are much mistaken,' said he, 'for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather as a philosopher, for this Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, as he is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, so he is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, and ran fortunes with Americus Vesputius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of

him, almost by force, that he might be one of those four and twenty who were left at the farthest place at which they touched in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say, that the way to heaven was the same from all places, and he that had no grave had the heavens still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by a strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, and there he, very happily, found some Portuguese ships; and so, beyond all men's expectations, he came back to his own country.' When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable to me; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. And after those civilities were past which are ordinary for strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank and entertained one another in discourse. He told us that when Vesputius had sailed away, he, and his companions that stayed behind in New Castile, did by degrees insinuate themselves into the people of the country, meeting often with them and treating them gently; and at last they grew not only to live among them without danger, but to converse familiarly with them, and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plenti-

fully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling, both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they travelled over land: and he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days' journey, they came to towns, and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well peopled. Under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men, that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But, as they went farther, a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and, at last, there are nations, towns, and cities, that have not only mutual commerce among themselves and with their neighbours, but trade, both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all hands, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker, woven close together, only some were made of leather; but, afterwards, they found ships made with round keels and canvas sails, and in all things like our ships, and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favour by showing

them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant; and whereas they sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time, now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is reason to fear that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place, it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: and whatever is necessary to be told, chiefly concerning the wise and prudent institutions, that he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for everywhere one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters, but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed.—*Utopia.*

LABOUR IN UTOPIA

Agriculture is that which is so universally understood among them all that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it; from their childhood they are instructed in it, partly by what they learn at school, and partly by practice, they being led out often into the fields about the town, where they not only see others at work but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every

man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself; such as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no other sort of trade that is in great esteem among them. All the island over they wear the same sort of clothes, without any other distinction except that which is necessary for marking the difference between the two sexes and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters, and as it is not disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is fitted for their climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them, women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit better with their feebleness, leaving the other ruder trades to the men. Generally the same trade passes down from father to son, inclination often following descent: but if any man's genius lies another way he is, by adoption, translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined; and when that is to be done, care is taken, not only by his father, but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. And if, after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only, business of the Syphogrants[1] is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every one may follow his trade diligently; yet they do not wear themselves out

[1] magistrates.

with perpetual toil from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is the common course of life of all tradesmen everywhere except among the Utopians: but they, dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work, three of them are before dinner; and after that they dine and interrupt their labour for two hours, and then they go to work again for other three hours; and after that they sup, and at eight a'clock, counting from noon, they go to bed and sleep eight hours: and for their other hours, besides those of work, and those that go for eating and sleeping, they are left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise, according to their various inclinations, which is, for the most part, reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before daybreak, to which none are obliged to go, but those that are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women, of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or another, according to the variety of their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trade, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are commended rather, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion; in summer it is in their gardens, and in winter it is in the halls where they eat, and they entertain themselves in them, either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or such-like foolish and mischievous games. They have two sorts of

games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, by which one number, as it were, consumes another; the other resembles a battle between the vices and the virtues, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue, is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice does either openly assault or secretly undermine virtue; and virtue, on the other hand, resists it; and the means by which either side obtains the victory. But this matter of the time set off for labour is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may perhaps imagine that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions: but it is so far from being true that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with a plenty of all things, that are either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle: then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in lands, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that do nothing but go swaggering about. Reckon in with these all those strong and lusty beggars that go about pretending some disease in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labours

mankind is supplied is much less than you did perhaps imagine: then consider how few of those that work are employed in labours that men do really need, for we, who measure all things by money, give occasions to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and that serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who are at work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, and by that means the prices of them would so sink that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all those who labour about useless things were set to more profitable trades, and if all that number that languishes out their life in sloth and idleness, of whom every one consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work do, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, pleasure being still kept within its due bounds: which appears very plainly in Utopia; for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either men or women, by their age and strength are capable of labour, that are not engaged in it. Even the Syphogrants themselves, though the law excuses them, yet do not excuse themselves, that so by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people; the like exemption is allowed to those who, being recommended to the people by the priests, are, by the secret suffrages of the Syphogrants, privileged from labour, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these falls short of those

hopes that seemed to give at first, he is obliged to go to work. And sometimes a mechanic that does so employ his leisure hours that he makes a considerable advancement in learning is eased from being a tradesman and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their ambassadors, their priests, their Tranibors[1], and the Prince himself, who was anciently called their Barzenes, but is called of late their Ademus.

And thus from the great numbers among them that are neither suffered to be idle nor to be employed in any fruitless labour, you may easily make the estimate how much good work may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labour. But, besides all that has been already said, this is to be considered that those needful arts among them are managed with less labour than anywhere else. The building or the repairing of houses among us employs many hands, because often a thriftless heir suffers a house that his father built to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge; and often it falls out that the same house which one built at a vast expense is neglected by another, that thinks he has a more delicate sense of such things, and he, suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians all things are so regulated that men do very seldom build upon any new piece of ground, and they are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay, so that their buildings are preserved very long

[1] superior magistrates in authority over the Syphogrants.

with very little labour, and thus the craftsmen, to whom that care belongs, are often without any employment, except it be the hewing of timber and the squaring of stones, that so the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly when there is any occasion for it. As for their clothes, observe how little work goes for them; while they are at labour they are clothed with leather and skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years, and when they appear in public they put on an upper garment which hides the other; and these are all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wool: and as they need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, so that which they do need is much less costly; they use linen cloth more, but that is prepared with less labour, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread: and whereas in other places four or five upper garments of woollen cloth and of different colours, and as many vests of silk, will scarce serve one man, and those that are nicer think ten too few, every man there is content with one, which very oft serves him two years. Nor is there anything that can tempt a man to desire more; for if he had them he would neither be the warmer nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful labour, and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them; so that often, for want of other work, if there is any need of mending their highways at any time, you will see marvellous numbers

of people brought out to work at them ; and when there is no occasion of any public work, the hours of working are lessened by public proclamation, for the magistrates do not engage the people into any needless labour, since by their constitution they aim chiefly at this, that except in so far as public necessity requires it, all the people may have as much time as may be necessary for the improvement of their minds, for in this they think the happiness of life consists.—*Utopia.*

OF SLAVES AND MARRIAGES IN UTOPIA

They do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken fighting against them, nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of the slaves of other nations : the slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for some crime that they had committed, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they redeem sometimes at low rates, and in other places they have them for nothing and so they fetch them away. All their slaves are kept at perpetual labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that they treat their own natives much worse, looking on them as a more profligate sort of people, who, not being restrained from crime by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage than others. Another sort of slaves is when some of the poorer sort in the neighbouring countries offer of their own accord to come and serve them : they treat these better, and use them in all other respects as well as their own countrymen, except

that they impose more labour upon them, which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which, indeed, falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty-handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health; and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them and to make their lives as comfortable as may be: they visit them often and take great pains to make their time pass off easily; but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that, since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, so that they have really outlived themselves, they would no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but would choose rather to die since they cannot live but in much misery; being assured that if they either deliver themselves from their prison and torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after their deaths: and since, by their dying thus, they lose none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life, they think they act not only reasonably in so doing but religiously and piously; because they follow the advices that are given them by the priests, who are the expounders of the will of God to them. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions do either starve themselves of their own accord, or they take opium, and so they die

without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life ; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, they do not for that fail in their attendance and care of them : but as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honourable, so if any man takes away his own life without the approbation of the priests and the senate, they give him none of the honours of a decent funeral, but throw his body into some ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen nor their men before two-and-twenty, and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before their marriage they are severely punished, and the privilege of marriage is denied them unless there is a special warrant obtained for it afterward from the Prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they fall out, for it is supposed that they have been wanting to their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely is, because they think that if they were not so strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a married state, in which men venture the quiet of their whole life, being restricted to one person, besides many other inconveniences that do accompany it. In the way of choosing of their wives they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but is constantly observed among them, and accounted a wise and good rule. Before marriage some grave matron presents the bride naked whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom, and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We, indeed, both laughed at this, and condemned it as a very indecent thing. But they, on the other

hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them, and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a handbreadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which there may lie hid that which may be contagious as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise that they choose a woman only for her good qualities, and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind; and it is certain there may be some such deformity covered with one's clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife, when it is too late to part with her; for if such a thing is discovered after marriage a man has no remedy but patience; so they think it is reasonable that there should be a good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

There was so much the more reason in making a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that do neither allow of polygamy nor of divorces, except in the cases of adultery or insufferable perverseness; for in these cases the Senate dissolves the marriage and grants the injured person leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous and are never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, because of any great calamity that may have fallen on their person; for they look on it as the

height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons when they need most the tender care of their consort, and that chiefly in the case of old age, which, as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it falls often out that when a married couple do not agree well together, they, by mutual consent, separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily; yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the Senate, which never admits of a divorce but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired, and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages would very much shake the kindness of married persons. They punish severely those that defile the marriage bed; if both parties are married they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one another, or whom they please, but the adulterer and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person they may live with them still in that state, but they must follow them to that labour to which the slaves are condemned, and sometimes the repentance of the condemned person, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the Prince that he has taken off the sentence; but those that relapse after they are once pardoned are punished with death.

Their law does not determine the punishment for other crimes, but that is left to the Senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the

fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives and parents to correct their children, unless the fault is so great that a public punishment is thought necessary for the striking terror into others. For the most part slavery is the punishment even of the greatest crimes, for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth than the killing them outright, since, as their labour is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke and submit to the labour that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison nor by their chains, and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure that lies so hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope, but that, at last, either the Prince will, by his prerogative, or the people will, by their intercession, restore them again to their liberty, or, at least, very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he that commits it, for they reckon that a laid and studied design of committing any crime is equal to the fact itself, since its not taking effect does not make the person that did all that in him lay in order to it a whit the less guilty.

They take great pleasure in fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them

ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly; and they think this is a great advantage to the fools themselves; for if men were so sullen and severe as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behaviour and foolish sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well looked to nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person that were so treated, but it would be accounted a very unworthy thing for him that had upbraided another with that which he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use paint or fard[1]. And they all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband as the probity of her life and her obedience; for as some few are catched and held only by beauty, so all people are held by the other excellences which charm all the world.—*Utopia.*

SIR THOMAS ELYOT

c. 1488–1546

DETRACTION

THERE is much conversant among men in authority a vice very ugly and monstrous, who under the pleasant habit of friendship and good counsel with a breath pestilential infecteth the wits of them that nothing mistrusteth; this

[1] white paint.

monster is called in English Detraction, in Latin *Calumnia*, whose property I will now declare. If a man, being determined to equity, having the eyen and ears of his mind set only on the truth and the public weal of his country, will have no regard to any request or desire, but proceedeth directly in the administration of justice, then either he which by justice is offended, or some his fautours[1], abettors, or adherents, if he himself or any of them be in service or familiarity with him that is in authority, as soon as by any occasion mention happeneth to be made of him who hath executed justice exactly, forthwith they imagine some vice or default, be it never so little, whereby they may minish[2] his credence, and craftily omitting to speak anything of his rigour in justice, they will note and touch something of his manners, wherein shall either seem to be lightness or lack of gravity, or too much sourness, or lack of civility, or that he is not benevolent to him in authority, or that he is not sufficient to receive any dignity, or to dispatch matters of weighty importance, or that he is superfluous in words or else too scarce. Also if he live temperately and delighteth much in study, they embraid him with niggardship, or in derision do call him a clerk or a port, unmeet for any other purpose. And this do they covertly and with a more gravity than any other thing that they enterprise. This evil report is called detraction, who was wonderfully well expressed in figures by the most noble painter Apelles, after that he was discharged of the crime whereof he was falsely accused to Ptolemy, King of Egypt, having for his amends of the said king 12,000 pounds sterling and his accuser to his bondman

[1] favourers, supporters. [2] make little, diminish.

perpetually. The table wherein detraction was expressed was painted in this form. At the right hand was made sitting a man having long ears, putting forth his hand to Detraction, who far off came towards him; about this man strode two women, that is to say, Ignorance and Suspicion. On the other side came Detraction, a woman above measure well trimmed, all chafed and angry, having her aspect or look like to the fire, in showing a manner of rage or fury. In her left hand she held a brenning torch or brand, and with her other hand she drew by the hair of his head a young man who held up his hands toward heaven, calling God and the saints for witness. With her came a man pale and evil favoured, beholding the young man intentively, like unto one that had been with long sickness consumed, whom ye might lightly conject to be Envy. Also there followed two other women, that trimmed and apparelled Detraction; the one was Treason, the other Fraud. After followed a woman in a mourning weed, black and ragged, and she was called Repentance, who turning her back weeping and sore ashamed beheld Verity, who then approached. In this wise Apelles described detraction, by whom he himself was in peril. Which in mine opinion is a right necessary matter to be in tables or hangings set in every man's house that is in authority, considering what damage and loss hath ensued and may hereafter ensue by this horrible pestilence, false detraction. To the avoiding whereof, Lucian, who writeth of this picture, giveth a notable counsel, saying, that a wise man, when he doubteth of the honesty and virtue of the person accused, he should keep

close his ears, and not open them hastily to them which be with this sickness infected, and put reason for a diligent porter and watch, which ought to examine and let in the reports that be good, and exclude and prohibit them that be contrary. For it is a thing to laugh at and very unfitting to ordain for thy house a keeper or porter, and thine ears and mind to leave to all men wide open. Wherefore when any person cometh to us to tell us any report or complaint, first, it shall behove us throughly and evenly to consider the thing, not having respect to the ears of him that reporteth, or to his form of living or wisdom in speaking. For the more vehement the reporter is in persuading, so much more diligent and exact trial and examination ought to be used. Therefore trust is not to be given to any other man's judgement, much less to the malice of an accuser. But every man shall retain to himself the power to insearch out the truth, and leaving the envy or displeasure to the detractor, he shall ponder or weigh the matter indifferently, that every thing in such wise being curiously insearched and proved, he may at his pleasure either love or hate him whom he hath so substantially tried. For in good faith to give place to detraction at the beginning, it is a thing childish and base, and to be esteemed among the most great inconveniences and mischiefs. These be wellnigh the words of Lucian; whether the counsel be good I remit it to the wise reader. Of one thing am I sure, that by detraction as well many good wits have been drowned, as also virtue and painful study have been unrewarded, and many zelators[1] or favourers of the public weal have been discouraged.—*The Governour.*

[1] zealots.

HUGH LATIMER

c. 1488–1555

SERMON ON THE CARD

Tu quis es? Which words are as much to say in English, 'Who art thou?' These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him who he was: which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies; and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, 'Who art thou?' Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

Now here is to be noted the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him whom he was, he would not directly answer of himself what he was himself, but he said he was not Christ: by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared farther unto them of Christ, saying, 'He is in the midst of you and amongst you, whom ye know

not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo.' By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, 'Who art thou?' shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, 'Who art thou?' This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion: 'What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into this world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?' Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand how thou shalt make answer unto it; which must be made on this ways: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself but all towards hell, except I have better help of another than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all

towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgement of God, and the true claim of ourselves; which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, and proveth well this example following:

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth this favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and for because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and to his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful unto him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto this said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will be content and agreeable that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alonely by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace, hearing of this invasion,

cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his said town of Calais. Then he being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and from his heirs this thousand pounds possessions. Think you not but the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes, truly: the said capitain cannot deny himself but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved him to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So likewise it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit of science and knowledge, to work all goodness therewith: this said spirit was not given alonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, that is to say, the temptations of the fiend, did obey unto their desire; and so brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his capitain, deposed him of the thousand pound of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity:

for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs; so in likemanner, when he lost the same, his heirs lost it also by him and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him, again we lost the same.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father in the thousand pounds possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in paradise, let not us think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate be we, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be the true inheritors of hell! For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of everlasting joy in paradise into

this corrupt world, amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the most uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven; of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch that this evil nature is so fused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was. By reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell: which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman, by themselves, 'Who art thou?'

And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ. The Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesu Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path to everlasting life, as the evangelists, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do

keep and observe according unto our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, 'Who art thou?' than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. but after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, 'Who art thou?'

The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws; and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us; and the more that we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, the more we shall love and please God: so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man, or a woman, but that

they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And for because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom this time of Christenmas: I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Christenmas in playing at cards, I intend, with God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the triumph: you must mark also that the triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be showed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to the men of the old law, Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgement: but I say unto you of the new law, sayeth Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgement;

and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same: wherefore you must well note and mark terms, how they be spoken, and to what purpose. Let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it. . . .

These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so; we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card. Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind; straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, Who art thou? The answer is, I am a Christian man. Then further we must say to ourselves, What requireth Christ of a Christian man? Now turn up your trump, your heart (hearts is trump, as I said before), and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and

upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man,—not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity! the Rhodes are won[1] and overcome by these false Turks; the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that Christian men doth so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murther and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example, as thus: when the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not, when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of their father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants and apprentices do enjoy therein. This

[1] Alluding to the capture of the Island of Rhodes by the Turks, A.D. 1523.

is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs and all that longeth unto them : and so this way is a great number of Christian lineage murthered and spoiled.

The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain ; which is on this fashion : although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or prentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the other of his faculty, both admit him ; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition : thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing ; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teach according to it, rebuke and punish vice ; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-

days, not to lose their time in idleness; if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many one that breaketh this card, Thou shalt not kill, and playeth therewith oftentimes at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those nowadays that can clear themselves of these manifest murthers used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many hath these two ways slain their own children unto their damnations; unless the great mercy of God were not ready to help them when they repent therefor.

Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalen; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven; as appeareth by this example following:

Christ, when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon: this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner named Mary Magdalen. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended

God; whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner come so nigh him. Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. Say what you please, quoth the Pharisee. Then said Christ, I pray thee, tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both: which of these two debtors ought to love this man most? The Pharisee said, That man ought to love him best, that had most forgiven him. Likewise, said Christ, it is by this woman: she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven. So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner; which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with

a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance? And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning their selves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin and in offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin and to continue in it; and we then should know ourselves best, and make a more perfect answer than ever we did unto this question, Who art thou? to the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women: and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this card, Thou shalt not kill, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory. Amen.—*Sermon preached at Cambridge about* 1529.

THE SERMON OF THE PLOUGH

'All things which are written, are written for our erudition and knowledge. All things that are written in God's book, in the Bible book, in the book of the holy scripture, are written to be our doctrine.'

I told you in my first sermon, honourable audience, that I purposed to declare unto you two things. The one, what seed should be sown in God's field, in God's plough land; and the other, who should be the sowers: that is to say, what doctrine is to be taught in Christ's church and congregation, and what men should be the teachers and preachers of it. The first part I have told you in the three sermons past, in which I have assayed to set forth my plough, to prove what I could do. And now I shall tell you who be the ploughers: for God's word is a seed to be sown in God's field, that is, the faithful congregation, and the preacher is the sower. And it is in the gospel: *Exivit qui seminat seminare semen suum*; 'He that soweth, the husbandman, the ploughman, went forth to sow his seed.' So that a preacher is resembled to a ploughman, as it is in another place: *Nemo admota aratro manu, et a tergo respiciens, aptus est regno Dei.* 'No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God.' That is to say, let no preacher be negligent in doing his office. Albeit this is one of the places that hath been racked[1], as I told you of racking scriptures. And I have been one of them myself that hath racked it, I cry God mercy for it; and have been one of them that hath believed and have expounded it against religious persons that would forsake their order which they had professed, and would go out of their cloister: whereas indeed it toucheth not monkery, nor maketh anything at all for any such matter; but it is directly spoken of diligent preaching of the word of God.

For preaching of the gospel is one of God's

[1] misunderstood.

plough-works, and the preacher is one of God's ploughmen. Ye may not be offended with my similitude, in that I compare preaching to the labour and work of ploughing, and the preacher to a ploughman: ye may not be offended with this my similitude; for I have been slandered of some persons for such things. It hath been said of me, 'Oh, Latimer! nay, as for him, I will never believe him while I live, nor never trust him; for he likened our blessed Lady to a saffron-bag:' where indeed I never used that similitude. But it was, as I have said unto you before now, according to that which Peter saw before in the spirit of prophecy, and said, that there should come afterward men *per quos via veritatis maledictis afficeretur*; there should come fellows by whom the way of truth should be evil spoken of, and slandered. But in case I had used this similitude, it had not been to be reproved, but might have been without reproach. For I might have said thus: as the saffron-bag that hath been full of saffron, or hath had saffron in it, doth ever after savour and smell of the sweet saffron that it contained; so our blessed Lady, which conceived and bare Christ in her womb, did ever after resemble the manners and virtues of that precious babe which she bare. And what had our blessed Lady been the worse for this? or what dishonour was this to our blessed Lady? But as preachers must be ware and circumspect, that they give not any just occasion to be slandered and ill spoken of by the hearers, so must not the auditors be offended without cause. For heaven is in the gospel likened to a mustard-seed: it is compared also to a piece of leaven; as Christ saith, that at

the last day he will come like a thief: and what dishonour is this to God? or what derogation is this to heaven? Ye may not then, I say, be offended with my similitude, for because I liken preaching to a ploughman's labour, and a prelate to a ploughman. But now you will ask me, whom I call a prelate? A prelate is that man, whatsoever he be, that hath a flock to be taught of him; whosoever hath any spiritual charge in the faithful congregation, and whosoever he be that hath cure of souls. And well may the preacher and the ploughman be likened together: first, for their labour of all seasons of the year; for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do: as in my country in Leicestershire, the ploughman hath a time to set forth, and to assay his plough, and other times for other necessary works to be done. And then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh it in furrows, and sometime ridgeth it up again; and at another time harroweth it and clotteth it, and sometime dungeth it, and hedgeth it, diggeth it, and weedeth it, purgeth and maketh it clean: so the prelate, the preacher, hath many divers offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith, as Paul calleth it, and not a swerving faith; but to a faith that embraceth Christ, and trusteth to his merits; a lively faith, a justifying faith; a faith that maketh a man righteous, without respect of works: as ye have it very well declared and set forth in the Homily. He hath then a busy work,

I say, to bring his flock to a right faith, and then to confirm them in the same faith: now casting them down with the law, and with threatenings of God for sin; now ridging them up again with the gospel, and with the promises of God's favour: now weeding them, by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and by making them supple-hearted, and making them to have hearts of flesh; that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in: now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and to their neighbours: now exhorting them, when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it; so that they have a continual work to do. Great is their business, and therefore great should be their hire. They have great labours, and therefore they ought to have good livings, that they may commodiously feed their flock; for the preaching of the word of God unto the people is called meat: scripture calleth it meat; not strawberries, that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone: but it is meat, it is no dainties. The people must have meat that must be familiar and continual, and daily given unto them to feed upon. Many make a strawberry of it, ministering it but once a year; but such do not the office of good prelates. For Christ saith, *Quis putas est servus prudens et fidelis? Qui dat cibum in tempore.* 'Who think you is a wise and a faithful servant? He that giveth meat in due time.' So that he must at all times convenient preach diligently: therefore saith he, 'Who trow you is a faithful servant?' He speaketh it as though it were a rare thing to find such a one,

and as though he should say, there be but a few of them to find in the world. And how few of them there be throughout this realm that give meat to their flock as they should do, the Visitors can best tell. Too few, too few; the more is the pity, and never so few as now.

By this, then, it appeareth that a prelate, or any that hath cure of soul, must diligently and substantially work and labour. Therefore saith Paul to Timothy, *Qui episcopatum desiderat, hic bonum opus desiderat*: 'He that desireth to have the office of a bishop, or a prelate, that man desireth a good work.' Then if it be good work, it is work; ye can make but a work of it. It is God's work, God's plough, and that plough God would have still going. Such then as loiter and live idly, are not good prelates, or ministers. And of such as do not preach and teach, nor do not their duties, God saith by his prophet Jeremy, *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei fradulenter*. Guilefully or deceitfully: some books have *negligenter*, negligently or slackly. How many such prelates, how many such bishops, Lord, for thy mercy, are there now in England! And what shall we in this case do? shall we company with them? O Lord, for thy mercy shall we not company with them? O Lord, whither shall we flee from them? But cursed be he that doth the work of God negligently or guilefully. A sore word for them that are negligent in discharging their office, or have done it fraudulently; for that is the thing that maketh the people ill.

But true it must be that Christ saith, *Multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*: Many are called, but few are chosen. Here have I an occasion by the way, somewhat to say unto you; yea, for the

place that I alleged unto you before out of Jeremy, the forty-eighth chapter. And it was spoken of a spiritual work of God, a work that was commanded to be done; and it was of shedding blood, and of destroying the cities of Moab. For, saith he, cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding of blood. As Saul, when he kept back the sword from shedding of blood at what time he was sent against Amalek, was refused of God for being disobedient to God's commandments, in that he spared Agag the king. So that that place of the prophet was spoken of them that went to the destruction of the cities of Moab, among the which there was one called Nebo, which was much reproved for idolatry, superstition, pride, avarice, cruelty, tyranny, and for hardness of heart; and for these sins was plagued of God and destroyed.

Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London? What shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? No, no, I may not say so; they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For is there not reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, as much superstition, as was in Nebo? Yes, I think, and much more too. Therefore I say, repent, O London; repent, repent. Thou hearest thy faults told thee, amend them, amend them. I think, if Nebo had had the preaching that thou hast, they would have converted. And, you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge, and see you do your duties; and rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry

when you are warned or told of your fault. What ado was there made in London at a certain man, because he said (and indeed at that time on a just cause), 'Burgesses!' quoth he, 'nay, butterflies.' Lord, what ado there was for that word! And yet would God they were no worse than butterflies! Butterflies do but their nature: the butterfly is not covetous, is not greedy of other men's goods; is not full of envy and hatred, is not malicious, is not cruel, is not merciless. The butterfly glorieth not in her own deeds, nor preferreth the traditions of men before God's word; it committeth not idolatry, nor worshippeth false gods. But London cannot abide to be rebuked; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick; if they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince; but yet they will not amend their faults, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God, and favour good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them, if you would be glad to reform that is amiss; if I might see any such inclination in you, that you would leave to be merciless, and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at their door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to call it, and perish there for hunger: was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo? I think not. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were

wont to help the poor scholars of the Universities with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London: but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it, and hearken for it; but now charity is waxen cold, none helpeth the scholar, nor yet the poor. And in those days, what did they when they helped the scholars? Marry, they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists, and professed the pope's doctrine: and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.

Oh London, London! repent, repent; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Repent therefore, repent, London, and remember that the same God liveth now that punished Nebo, even the same God, and none other; and he will punish sin as well now as he did then: and he will punish the iniquity of London, as well as he did them of Nebo. Amend therefore. And ye that be prelates, look well to your office; for right prelating is busy labouring, and not lording. Therefore preach and teach, and let your plough be doing. Ye lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office; the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation: let your plough therefore be going, and not cease, that the ground may bring forth fruit.

But now methinketh I hear one say unto me: Wot ye what you say? Is it a work? Is it a labour? How then hath it happened that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching prelates, lording loiterers, and idle ministers? Ye would have me here to make answer, and to show the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough; it is too stony, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to lay for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to lay for themselves long customs, ceremonies and authority, placing in parliament, and many things more. And I fear me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed: for, as the saying is, it lacketh weathering: this gear lacketh weathering; at least way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thorns, but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What (I had almost said) among serpents, but stinging? But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down, contrary to the apostles' times: for they preached and lorded not, and now they lord and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to plough: it is no meet office for them; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers: thus crept in unpreaching prelates; and so have they long continued. For how many unlearned prelates have we now at this day! And no marvel: for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand: and then both ploughs

not walking, nothing should be in the commonweal but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth; there is no work done, the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice; they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions, so that ploughing is set aside: and by their lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone. And thus if the ploughmen of the country were as negligent in their office as prelates be, we should not long live, for lack of sustenance. And as it is necessary for to have this ploughing for the sustentation of the body, so must we have also the other for the satisfaction of the soul, or else we cannot live long ghostly. For as the body wasteth and consumeth away for lack of bodily meat, so doth the soul pine away for default of ghostly meat. But there be two kinds of enclosing, to let or hinder both these kinds of ploughing; the one is an enclosing to let or hinder the bodily ploughing, and the other to let or hinder the holiday-ploughing, the church-ploughing.

The bodily ploughing is taken in and enclosed thorough singular commodity. For what man will let go, or diminish his private commodity for a commonwealth? And who will sustain any damage for the respect of a public commodity? The other plough also no man is diligent to set forward, nor no man will hearken to it. But to hinder and let it all men's ears are open; yea, and a great many of this kind of ploughmen, which are very busy, and would seem to be very good workmen. I fear me some be rather mock-gospellers, than faithful ploughmen. I know many

myself that profess the gospel, and live nothing thereafter. I know them, and have been conversant with some of them. I know them, and (I speak it with a heavy heart) there is as little charity and good living in them as in any other; according to that which Christ said in the gospel to the great number of people that followed him, as though they had had an earnest zeal to his doctrine, whereas indeed they had it not; *Non quia vidistis signa, sed quia comedistis de panibus.* 'Ye follow me,' saith he, 'not because ye have seen the signs and miracles that I have done; but because ye have eaten the bread, and refreshed your bodies, therefore you follow me.' So that I think many one nowadays professeth the gospel for the living's sake, not for the love they bear to God's word. But they that will be true ploughmen must work faithfully for God's sake, for the edifying of their brethren. And as diligently as the husbandman plougheth for the sustentation of the body, so diligently must the prelates and ministers labour for the feeding of the soul: both the ploughs must still be doing, as most necessary for man. And wherefore are magistrates ordained, but that the tranquillity of the commonweal may be confirmed, limiting both ploughs?

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methink I could guess what might be said for excusing of them. They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled

with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question: I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish, while he controlleth the mint? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting? I cannot tell you; but the saying is, that since priests have been minters, money hath been worse than it was before. And they say that the evilness of money hath made all things dearer. And in this behalf I must speak to England. Hear, my country, England, as Paul said in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter; for Paul was no sitting bishop, but a walking and a preaching bishop. But when he went from them, he left there behind him the plough going still; for he wrote unto them, and rebuked them for going to law, and pleading their causes before heathen judges: 'Is there', saith he, 'utterly among you no wise man, to be an arbitrator in matters of judgement? What, not one of all that can judge between brother and brother; but one brother goeth to law with another, and that under heathen judges? *Constituite contemptos qui sunt in ecclesia*, &c. Appoint them judges that are most abject and vile in the

congregation.' Which he speaketh in rebuking them; 'For,' saith he, *ad erubescentiam vestram dico*—'I speak it to your shame.' So, England, I speak it to thy shame: is there never a nobleman to be a lord president, but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? 'I speak it to your shame. I speak it to your shame.' If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, a page, comptroller of the mint: make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, make a poor beggar, lord president.

Thus I speak, not that I would have it so; but 'to your shame', if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be lord president. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal? The king hath a great many of wards, and I trow there is a Court of Wards: why is there not a school for the wards, as well as there is a Court for their lands? Why are they not set in schools where they may learn? Or why are they not sent to the universities, that they may be able to serve the king when they come to age? If the wards and young gentlemen were well brought up in learning, and in the knowledge of God, they would not when they come to age so much give themselves to other vanities. And if the nobility be well trained in godly learning, the people would follow the same train. For truly, such as the noblemen be, such will the people be. And now, the only cause why noblemen be not made lord presidents, is because they have not been brought up in learning.

Therefore for the love of God appoint teachers and schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the word of God. Thanks be unto God, the nobility otherwise is very well brought up in learning and godliness, to the great joy and comfort of England; so that there is now good hope in the youth, that we shall another day have a flourishing commonwealth, considering their godly education. Yea, and there be already noblemen enough, though not so many as I would wish, able to be lord presidents, and wise men enough for the mint. And as unmeet a thing it is for bishops to be lord presidents, or priests to be minters, as it was for the Corinthians to plead matters of variance before heathen judges. It is also a slander to the noblemen, as though they lacked wisdom and learning to be able for such offices, or else were no men of conscience, or else were not meet to be trusted, and able for such offices. And a prelate hath a charge and cure otherwise; and therefore he cannot discharge his duty and be a lord president too. For a presidentship requireth a whole man; and a bishop cannot be two men. A bishop hath his office, a flock to teach, to look unto; and therefore he cannot meddle with another office, which alone requireth a whole man: he should therefore give it over to whom it is meet, and labour in his own business; as Paul writeth to the Thessalonians, 'Let every man do his own business, and follow his calling.' Let the priest preach, and the noble-

men handle the temporal matters. Moses was a marvellous man, a good man: Moses was a wonderful fellow, and did his duty, being a married man: we lack such as Moses was. Well, I would all men would look to their duty, as God hath called them, and then we should have a flourishing Christian commonweal.

And now I would ask a strange question: who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him who it is; I know him well. But now I think I see you listening and hearkening that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you: it is the devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other; he is never out of his diocese; he is never from his cure; ye shall never find him unoccupied; he is ever in his parish; he keepeth residence at all times; ye shall never find him out of the way, call for him when you will he is ever at home; the diligentest preacher in all the realm; he is ever at his plough: no lording nor loitering can hinder him; he is ever applying his business, ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery. He is ready as can be wished for to set forth his plough; to devise as many ways as can be to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles; away with bibles, and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles,

yea, at noon-days. Where the devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry; censing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water, and new service of men's inventing; as though man could invent a better way to honour God with than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's cross, up with purgatory pickpurse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images, and gay garnishing of stocks and stones: up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's traditions and his most holy word. Down with the old honour due to God, and up with the new god's honour. Let all things be done in Latin: there must be nothing but Latin, not so much as *Memento homo quod cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris.* 'Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes thou shalt return,' which be the words that the minister speaketh to the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash Wednesday, but it must be spoken in Latin. God's word may in no wise be translated into English.

Oh that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockle and darnel! And this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin, and letteth[1] the fruitful edification. But here some man will say to me, What, Sir, are ye so privy of the devil's counsel that ye know all this to be true? Truly I know him too well, and have obeyed him a little too much in condescending to some follies; and I know him as other men do,

[1] hindereth.

yea that he is ever occupied, and ever busy in following his plough. I know by Saint Peter, which saith of him, *Sicut leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret.* 'He goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour.' I would have this text well viewed and examined, every word of it: '*Circuit,*' he goeth about in every corner of his diocese; he goeth on visitation daily, he leaveth no place of his cure unvisited: he walketh round about from place to place, and ceaseth not. '*Sicut leo,*' as a lion, that is, strongly, boldly, and proudly, stately and fiercely with haut looks, with his proud countenances, with his stately braggings. '*Rugiens,*' roaring; for he letteth not slip any occasion to speak or to roar out when he seeth his time. '*Quaerens,*' he goeth about *seeking,* and not sleeping, as our bishops do; but he seeketh diligently, he searcheth diligently all corners, whereas he may have his prey. He roveth abroad in every place of his diocese; he standeth not still, he is never at rest, but ever in hand with his plough, that it may go forward. But there was never such a preacher in England as he is. Who is able to tell his diligent preaching? which every day, and every hour, laboureth to sow cockle and darnel, that he may bring out of form, and out of estimation and room,[1] the institution of the Lord's supper and Christ's cross? For there he lost his right; for Christ said, *Nunc judicium est mundi, princeps seculi hujus ejicietur foras. Et sicut exaltavit Moses serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis. Et cum exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.* 'Now is the judgement of this world, and the prince of this

[1] place, office.

world shall be cast out. And as Moses did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lift up. And when I shall be lift up from the earth, I will draw all things unto myself.' For the devil was disappointed of his purpose: for he thought all to be his own; and when he had once brought Christ to the cross, he thought all cocksure. But there lost he all reigning: for Christ said, *Omnia traham ad meipsum*: 'I will draw all things to myself.'—*Sermon preached at St. Paul's, January* 18, 1548.

THE YEOMANRY

My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went unto Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this did he of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything

for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.

Thus all the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that; and since the same, ye have enhanced the rent, and so have increased another too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the commonwealth, as touching commoners and enclosers, many meetings and sessions, but in the end of the matter there cometh nothing forth. Well, well, this is one thing I will say unto you: from whence it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. For if ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed universities do wondrously decay already), and that they be not able to marry their daughters to the avoiding of whoredom; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeoman's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons? No, no, read the chronicles: ye shall find sometime noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men. But verily they that should look to the redress of these things be the greatest against them. In this realm are a great many folks, and amongst many I know but one of tender zeal, who, at the motion of his poor tenants, hath let down his lands to the old rents for their relief. For God's love let not him be a phœnix, let him

not be alone, let him not be an hermit closed in a wall; some good man follow him, and do as he giveth example.

Surveyors there be, that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; hand-makers, I mean: honest men I touch not; but all such as survey, they make up their mouths, but the commons be utterly undone by them; whose bitter cry ascending up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth, the greedy pit of hell-burning fire (without great repentance) doth tarry and look for them. A redress God grant! For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I would despair of the redress in these matters. One is, that the king's majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame; giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgement, I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries. For, as the scriptures be, *Cum dixerint, Pax, pax,* 'When they shall say, Peace, peace,' *Omnia tuta,* 'All things are sure;' then is the day at hand: a merry day, I say, for all such as do in this world study to serve and please God, and continue in his faith, fear, and love; and a dreadful horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in their own ways; to whom, as it is written in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, is said, *Ite, maledicti, in ignem aeternum,* 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.' But unto the other he shall say, *Venite, benedicti,* 'Come, ye blessed children of my Father, possess ye the kingdom prepared for you from the

beginning of the world : ' of the which God make us all partakers. Amen.—*First Sermon preached before King Edward the Sixth, March* 8, 1549.

THE CRAFTY HANDLING OF LATIMER BY THE BISHOPS

I WILL tell you an example of this, how God giveth mouth and wisdom. I was once in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law ; but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was before wont to be examined, but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered : for whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanging hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end ; so that I stood between the table and the chimney's end. There was among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table end. Then among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one ; and such one indeed as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer ; ' I pray you, Master Latimer,' said he, ' speak out ; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out,

and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney. And, Sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers: for they made sure work that I should not start from them; there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer: I could never else have escaped it. The question was this: 'Master Latimer, do you not think on your conscience, that you have been suspected of heresy?' A subtle question, a very subtle question. There was no holding of peace would serve. To hold my peace had been to grant myself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger. But God, which alway hath given me answer, helped me, or else I could never have escaped it; and delivered me from their hands. Many one have had the like gracious deliverance, and been endued with God's wisdom and God's Spirit, which all their adversaries can not be able to resist. —*Sermon preached at Stamford, October* 9, 1550.

WILLIAM TYNDALE

1490(?)–1536

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON[1]

And he sayde: a certayne man had two sonnes, and the yonger of them sayde to his father: father geve me my parte of the goodes that to me belongeth. And he devided vnto them his substaunce. And not longe after, the yonger sonne

[1] The spelling in this and the extract following has not been modernized (see Preface).

gaddered all that he had to gedder, and toke his iorney into a farre countre, and theare he wasted his goodes with royetous lyvinge. And when he had spent all that he had, ther rose a greate derth thorow out all that same londe, and he began to lacke. And he went and clave to a citesyn of that same countre, which sent him to his felde, to kepe his swyne. And he wold fayne have filled his bely with the coddes [1] that the swyne ate: and noo man gave him.

Then he came to himselfe and sayde: how many hyred servauntes at my fathers, have breed ynough, and I dye for honger. I will aryse, and goo to my father and will saye vnto him: father, I have synned agaynst heven and before the, and am no moare worthy to be called thy sonne, make me as one of thy hyred servauntes. And he arose and went to his father. And when he was yet a greate waye of, his father sawe him and had compassion, and ran and fell on his necke, and kyssed him. And the sonne sayd vnto him: father, I have synned agaynst heven, and in thy sight, and am no moare worthy to be called thy sonne. But his father sayde to his servauntes: bringe forth that best garment and put it on him, and put a rynge on his honde, and showes on his fete. And bringe hidder that fatted caulfe, and kyll him, and let vs eate and be mery: for this my sonne was deed, and is alyve agayne, he was loste, and is now founde. And they began to be merye.

The elder brother was in the felde, and when he cam and drewe nye to the housse, he herde minstrelcy and daunsynge, and called one of his

[1] husks.

servauntes, and axed what thoose thinges meante. And he sayd vnto him: thy brother is come, and thy father had kylled the fatted caulfe, because he hath receaved him safe and sounde. And he was angry, and wolde not goo in. Then came his father out, and entreated him. He answered and sayde to his father: Loo these many yeares have I done the service, nether brake at eny tyme thy commaundment, and yet gavest thou me never soo moche as a kyd to make mery with my lovers: but assone as this thy sonne was come, which hath devoured thy goodes with harlootes, thou haste for his pleasure kylled the fatted caulfe. And he sayd vnto him: Sonne, thou wast ever with me, and all that I have, is thyne: it was mete that we shuld make mery and be glad: for this thy brother was deed, and is a lyve agayne: and was loste, and is founde.—*Translation of St. Luke's Gospel.*

MARY MAGDALENE AT THE SEPULCHRE

Mary stode with out at the sepulcre wepynge. And as she wept, she bowed her selfe into the sepulcre, and sawe two angels in whyte sittyng, the one at the heed and the other at the fete, where they had layde the body of Iesus. And they sayde vnto her: woman why wepest thou? She sayde vnto them: For they have taken awaye my lorde, and I wote[1] not where they have layde him. When she had thus sayde, she turned her selfe backe and sawe Iesus stondynge, and knewe not that it was Iesus. Iesus sayde vnto her:

[1] know.

woman why wepest thou ? Whom sekest thou ? She supposynge that he had bene the gardener, sayde vnto him. Syr yf thou have borne him hence tell me where thou hast layde him, that I maye fet[1] him. Iesus sayde vnto her : Mary. She turned her selfe, and sayde vnto him : Rabboni, which is to saye master.—*Translation of St. John's Gospel.*

THOMAS CRANMER

1489–1556

THE CHARGES AGAINST ANNE BOLEYN

Pleaseth it your most noble Grace to be advertised, that at your grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary's letters, written in your grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your grace's farther pleasure. And forsomuch as, without your grace's commandment, I dare not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your grace's presence, nevertheless, of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your grace, by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrow of your grace's heart, and to take all adversities of God's hand both patiently and thankfully.

I cannot deny but your grace hath great causes, many ways, of lamentable heaviness ; and also

[1] fetch.

that, in the wrongful estimation of the world, your grace's honour of every part is so highly touched (whether the things that commonly be spoken of be true or not) that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your grace any like occasion to try your grace's constancy throughout, whether your highness can be content to take of God's hand as well things displeasant as pleasant.

And if he find in your most noble heart such an obedience unto his will, that your grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him than when all things succeed after your grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring his glory and honour; then I suppose your grace did never thing more acceptable unto him since your first governance of this your realm. And, moreover, your grace shall give unto him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your highness, as he did unto his most faithful servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, *addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* And if it be true that is openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed, for I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her; which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your

grace best knoweth, that, next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me in that which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may, with your grace's favour, wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your grace of your only mere goodness took her, and set the crown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so, if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the gospel, the more they will hate her; for then there never was creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed this gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so, that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your grace's favour, yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your grace, and never offended you. But your grace, I am sure, acknowledgeth that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that your grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the gospel than you did before: forasmuch as your grace's favour to the gospel was not led by affection unto

her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose gospel he hath ordained your grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your grace from all evil, and to give you at the end the promise of his gospel. From Lambeth, the 3rd day of May.

After I had written this letter unto your grace, my lord chancellor, my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the starchamber; and there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto. For the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communication we had therein I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof to your grace. I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject.—*Letter to Henry VIII.*

ROGER ASCHAM

1515–1568

PREFACE TO THE SCHOOLMASTER

When the great plague was at London, the year 1563, the Queen's Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, lay at her Castle of Windsor, where, upon the 10th day of December, it fortuned that in Sir William Cecil's chamber, her Highness's principal secretary, there dined together these personages, Mr. Secretary himself, Sir William Peter; Sir J. Mason;

D. Wotton; Sir Richard Sackville, Treasurer of the Exchequer; Sir Walter Mildmaye, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Haddon, Master of Requests; Mr. John Astley, Master of the Jewel House; Mr. Bernard Hampton; Mr. Nicasius; and I. Of which number, the most part were of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and the rest serving her in very good place. I was glad then, and do rejoice yet to remember, that my chance was so happy to be there that day in the company of so many wise and good men together, as hardly then could have been picked out again, out of all England beside.

Mr. Secretary hath this accustomed manner, though his head be never so full of most weighty affairs of the Realm, yet at dinner time he doth seem to lay them always aside: and findeth ever fit occasion to talk pleasantly of other matters, but most gladly of some matter of learning: wherein he will courteously hear the mind of the meanest at his table.

Not long after our sitting down, 'I have strange news brought me,' saith Mr. Secretary, 'this morning, that divers scholars of Eton be run away from the school, for fear of beating.' Whereupon Mr. Secretary took occasion to wish that some more discretion were in many schoolmasters in using correction, than commonly there is. Who many times punish rather the weakness of nature, than the fault of the scholar. Whereby many scholars, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning, before they know what learning meaneth: and so are made willing to forsake their book and be glad to be put to any other kind of living.

Mr. Peter, as one somewhat severe of nature, said plainly that the rod only was the sword that must keep the school in obedience, and the scholar in good order. Mr. Wotton, a man mild of nature, with soft voice, and few words, inclined to Mr. Secretary's judgement, and said, 'In mine opinion, the schoolhouse should be indeed, as it is called by name, the house of play and pleasure, and not of fear and bondage: and as I do remember, so saith Socrates in one place of Plato. And therefore, if a rod carry the fear of a sword, it is no marvel if those that be fearful of nature, choose rather to forsake the play than to stand always within the fear of a sword in a fond man's handling.' Mr. Mason, after his manner was very merry with both parties, pleasantly playing both with the shrewd touches of many curst boys, and with the small discretion of many lewd schoolmasters. Mr. Haddon was fully of Mr. Peter's opinion, and said that the best schoolmaster of our time was the greatest beater, and named the person. 'Though,' quoth I, 'it was his good fortune to send from his school, unto the university, one of the best scholars indeed of all our time, yet wise men do think that that came so to pass rather by the great towardness of the scholar than by the great beating of the master: and whether this be true or no, you yourself are best witness.' I said somewhat further in the matter, how, and why, young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating to attain good learning: wherein I was the bolder to say my mind, because Mr. Secretary courteously provoked me thereunto: or else, in such a company, and namely in his presence, my wont is to be more

willing to use mine ears than to occupy my tongue.

Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Astley, and the rest, said very little: only Sir Richard Sackville said nothing at all. After dinner I went up to read with the Queen's Majesty. We read then together in the Greek tongue, as I well remember, that noble Oration of Demosthenes against Aeschines, for his false dealing in his ambassage to King Philip of Macedonia. Sir Richard Sackville came up soon after: and finding me in her Majesty's privy chamber, he took me by the hand, and carrying me to a window, said, 'Mr. Ascham, I would not for a good deal of money have been this day absent from dinner. Where, though I said nothing, yet I gave as good ear, and do consider as well the talk that passed, as any one did there. Mr. Secretary said very wisely, and most truly, that many young wits be driven to hate learning before they know what learning is. I can be good witness to this myself: for a fond schoolmaster, before I was fully fourteen year old, drove me so, with fear of beating, from all love of learning, as now, when I know what difference it is to have learning, and to have little or none at all, I feel it my greatest grief, and find it my greatest hurt, that ever came to me, that it was my so ill chance to light upon so lewd a schoolmaster. But seeing it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap, some occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville my son's son. For whose bringing up I would gladly, if it so please you, use specially your good advice. I hear say, you have a son, much of his

age: we will deal thus together. Point you out a schoolmaster, who by your order shall teach my son and yours, and for all the rest, I will provide, yea though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year: and beside, you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours as perchance any you have.' Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day.

We had then further talk together, of bringing up of children: of the nature, of quick, and hard wits: of the right choice of a good wit: of fear and love in teaching children. We passed from children and came to young men, namely, gentlemen: we talked of their too much liberty to live as they lust: of their letting loose too soon, to overmuch experience of ill, contrary to the good order of many good old commonwealths of the Persians and Greeks: of wit gathered, and good fortune gotten, by some, only by experience, without learning. And lastly, he required of me very earnestly, to show what I thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy. 'But,' saith he, 'because this place, and this time, will not suffer so long talk as these good matters require, therefore I pray you, at my request, and at your leisure, put in some order of writing, the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching and honesty of living, for the good bringing up of children and young men. And surely, beside contenting me, you shall both please and profit very many others.' I made some excuse by lack of ability, and weakness of body. 'Well,' saith he, 'I am not now to learn what you can do. Our dear friend, good Mr. Goodricke, whose judge-

ment I could well believe, did once for all satisfy me fully therein. Again, I heard you say, not long ago, that you may thank Sir John Cheke for all the learning you have: and I know very well myself, that you did teach the Queen. And therefore seeing God did so bless you, to make you the scholar of the best master, and also the schoolmaster of the best scholar, that ever were in our time, surely, you should please God, benefit your country, and honest your own name, if you would take the pains to impart to others what you learned of such a master, and how you taught such a scholar. And, in uttering the stuff ye received of the one, in declaring the order ye took with the other, ye shall never lack, neither matter nor manner, what to write, nor how to write in this kind of argument.'

I beginning some further excuse, suddenly was called to come to the Queen. The night following, I slept little, my head was so full of this our former talk, and I so mindful, somewhat to satisfy the honest request of so dear a friend. I thought to prepare some little treatise for a New Year's gift that Christmas. But, as it chanceth to busy builders, so, in building this my poor Schoolhouse (the rather because the form of it is somewhat new, and differing from others) the work rose daily higher and wider than I thought it would at the beginning.

And though it appear now, and be in very deed, but a small cottage, poor for the stuff and rude for the workmanship, yet in going forward, I found the site so good, as I was loath to give it over, but the making so costly, outreaching my ability, as many times I wished that some one of those

three my dear friends, with full purses, Sir Tho. Smithe, Mr. Haddon, or Mr. Watson, had had the doing of it. Yet, nevertheless, I myself, spending gladly that little that I got at home by good Sir John Cheke, and that that I borrowed abroad of my friend Sturmius, beside somewhat that was left me in reversion by my old masters, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, I have at last patched it up, as I could, and as you see.—*The Schoolmaster.*

LADY JANE GREY

One example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, I will gladly report: which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany I came to Broadgate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the duke and the duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading *Phaedon Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me, 'I wis, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have

attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she; 'and tell you a truth which, perchance, ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is, that He sent me so sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me.' I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.—*The Schoolmaster.*

ARCHERY AND DICING CONTRASTED

The first bringer into the world of shooting was Apollo, which for his wisdom, and great commodities brought amongst men by him, was esteemed worthy to be counted as a God in heaven. Dicing surely is a bastard born, because it is said to have two fathers, and yet both naught: the one was an ungracious God, called Theuth, which for his naughtiness came never in other gods' companies, and therefore Homer doth despise once to name him, in all his works. The other father was a Lydian born, which people for such games, and other unthriftiness, as bowling and haunting of taverns, have been ever had in most vile reputation, in all stories and writers.

The fosterer of shooting is Labour, that companion of virtue, the maintainer of honesty, the increaser of health and wealthiness, which admitteth nothing in a manner into his company that standeth not with virtue and honesty; and therefore saith the old poet Epicharmus very prettily in Xenophon, that God selleth virtue, and all other good things to men for labour. The nurse of dice and cards is wearisome Idleness, enemy of virtue, the drowner of youth that tarrieth in it, and as Chaucer doth say very well in the Parson's tale, the green pathway to hell, having this thing appropriate unto it, that whereas other vices have some cloak of honesty, only idleness can neither do well, nor yet think well. Again, shooting hath two tutors to look upon it, out of whose company shooting never stirreth, the one called daylight, the other open place, which two

keep shooting from evil company, and suffers it not to have too much swing, but evermore keeps it under awe, that it dare do nothing in the open face of the world but that which is good and honest. Likewise, dicing and carding have two tutors, the one named Solitariousness, which lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night, an ungracious cover of naughtiness, which two things be very innkeepers and receivers of all naughtiness and naughty things, and thereto they be in a manner ordained by Nature. For on the night-time and in corners, spirits and thieves, rats and mice, toads and owls, night-crows and polecats, foxes and foumerds,[1] with all other vermin and noisome beasts, use most stirring, when in the daylight, and in open places which be ordained of God for honest things, they dare not once come, which thing Euripides noted very well, saying:

> Ill things the night, good things the day doth haunt and use.—*Iphi. in Tau.*

Companions of shooting be providence, good heedgiving, true meeting, honest comparison, which things agree with virtue very well. Carding and dicing have a sort of good fellows also, going commonly in their company, as blind Fortune, stumbling chance, spittle luck, false dealing, crafty conveyance, brainless brawling, false forswearing, which good fellows will soon take a man by the sleeve, and cause him take his inn, some with beggary, some with gout and dropsy, some with theft and robbery, and seldom they will leave

[1] polecats.

a man before he come either to hanging or else some other extreme misery. To make an end, how shooting by all men's laws hath been allowed, carding and dicing by all men's judgements condemned, I need not show: the matter is so plain.

Therefore, when the Lydians shall invent better things than Apollo, when sloth and idleness shall increase virtue more than labour, when the night and lurking corners, giveth less occasion to unthriftiness, than light day and openness, then shall shooting and such gaming be in some comparison like. Yet even as I do not show all the goodness which is in shooting, when I prove it standeth by the same things that virtue itself standeth by, as brought in by God, or godlilike men, fostered by labour, committed to the safeguard of light and openness, accompanied with provision and diligence, loved and allowed by every good man's sentence: even likewise do I not open half the naughtiness which is in carding and dicing, when I show how they are born of a desperate mother, nourished in idleness, increased by licence of night and corners, accompanied with Fortune, chance, deceit, and craftiness: condemned and banished by all laws and judgements.

For if I would enter to describe the monstrousness of it, I should rather wander in it, it is so broad, than have any ready passage to the end of the matter: whose horribleness is so large, that it passed the eloquence of our English Homer to compass it: yet because I ever thought his sayings to have as much authority as either Sophocles or Euripides in Greek, therefore gladly do I remember these verses of his:

Hazardry is very mother of lesings,
And of deceit and cursed swearings,
Blasphemy of Christ, manslaughter, and waste also,
Of catel,[1] of time, of other things mo.[2]

Mother of lesings: truly it may well be called so, if a man consider how many ways, and how many things he loseth thereby; for first he loseth his goods, he loseth his time, he loseth quickness of wit, and all good lust to other things; he loseth honest company, he loseth his good name and estimation, and at last, if he leave it not, loseth God, and heaven and all: and in stead of these things winneth at length either hanging or hell.

And of deceit: I trow if I should not lie, there is not half so much craft used in no one thing in the world, as in this cursed thing. What false dice use they? as dice stopped with quicksilver and hairs, dice of vantage, flats, gourds[3] to chop and change when they list, to let the true dice fall under the table, and so take up the false, and if they be true dice, what shift will they make to set the one of them with sliding, with cogging,[4] with foisting, with coiting[4] as they call it. How will they use these shifts, when they get a plain man that can no skill of them! How will they go about if they perceive an honest man have money, which list not play, to provoke him to play! They will seek his company, they will let him pay naught, yea and as I heard a man once say that he did, they will send for him to some house, and spend perchance a crown on him, and at last will one begin to say: 'What, my masters, what shall we do? shall every man play his

[1] goods. [2] more. [3] false dice.
[4] ways of cheating.

twelve pence while an apple roast in the fire, and then we will drink and depart.' 'Nay,' will another say, as false as he, 'you cannot leave when you begin, and therefore I will not play: but yet if you will gage, that every man as he hath lost his twelve pence shall sit down, I am content, for surely I would win no man's money here, but even as much as would pay for my supper.' Then speaketh the third, to the honest man that thought not to play, 'What, will you play your twelve pence?' If he excuse him, 'Tush, man!' will the other say, 'stick not in honest company for twelve pence. I will bear your half, and here is my money.'

Now all this is to make him to begin, for they know if he be once in, and be a loser, that he will not stick at his twelve pence but hopeth ever to get it again, while perhaps he lose all. Then every one of them setteth his shifts abroch, some with false dice, some with setting of dice, some with having outlandish silver coins gilded, to put away at a time for good gold. Then if there come a thing in controversy, must you be judged by the table, and then farewell the honest man's part, for he is borne down on every side.

Now sir, beside all these things they have certain terms, as a man would say, appropriate to their playing: whereby they will draw a man's money, but pay none, which they call bars, that surely he that knoweth them not, may soon be debarred of all that ever he hath, afore he learn them. If a plain man lose, as he shall do ever, or else it is a wonder, then the game is so devilish, that he can never leave: For vain hope (which hope, saith Euripides, destroyeth many a man

and city) driveth him on so far, that he can never return back, until he be so light, that he need fear no thieves by the way. Now if a simple man happen once in his life to win of such players, then will they either entreat him to keep them company while he hath lost all again, or else they will use the most devilish fashion of all; for one of the players that standeth next him, shall have a pair of false dice, and cast them out upon the board; the honest man shall take them and cast them, as he did the other, the third shall espy them to be false dice, and shall cry out, haro, with all the oaths under God, that he hath falsely won their money, and then there is nothing but 'Hold thy throat from my dagger'; then every man layeth hand on the simple man, and taketh all their money from him, and his own also, thinking himself well, that he scapeth with his life.—*Toxophilus.*

'LORDS BE LANTERNS'

INDEED as for great men, and great men's matters, I list[1] not greatly to meddle. Yet this I would wish that all great men in England had read over diligently the Pardoner's tale in Chaucer, and there they should perceive and see how much such games stand with their worship, how great soever they be. What great men do, be it good or ill, mean men commonly love to follow, as many learned men in many places do say, and daily experience doth plainly show, in costly apparel and other like matters.

Therefore, seeing that lords be lanterns to lead the life of mean men, by their example, either to

[1] choose, desire.

goodness or badness, to whether soever they list: and seeing also they have liberty to list what they will, I pray God they have will to list that which is good, and as for their playing, I will make an end with this saying of Chaucer:

> Lords might find them other manner of play
> Honest enough to drive the day away.

But to be short, the best medicine for all sorts of men both high and low, young and old, to put away such unlawful games is by the contrary, likewise as all physicians do allow in physic. So let youth instead of such unlawful games, which stand by idleness, by solitariness, and corners, by night and darkness, by fortune and chance, by craft and subtilty, use such pastimes as stand by labour: upon the daylight, in open sight of men, having such an end as is come to by cunning,[1] rather than by craft:[2] and so should virtue increase, and vice decay. For contrary pastimes must needs work contrary minds in men, as all other contrary things do.—*Toxiphilus.*

ARCHERY IN WINDY WEATHER

The greatest enemy of shooting is the wind and the weather, whereby true keeping a length is chiefly hindered. If this thing were not, men by teaching might be brought to wonderful near shooting. It is no marvel if the little poor shaft being sent alone, so high into the air, into a great rage of weather, one wind tossing it that way, another this way, it is no marvel, I say, though it

[1] skill. [2] artifice.

lose the length, and miss that place, where the shooter had thought to have found it. Greater matters than shooting are under the rule and will of the weather, as sailing on the sea. And likewise as in sailing, the chief point of a good master is to know the tokens of change of weather, the course of the winds, that thereby he may the better come to the haven: even so the best property of a good shooter is to know the nature of the winds, with him and against him, that thereby he may the nearer shoot at his mark. Wise masters when they cannot win the best haven, they are glad of the next: good shooters also, that cannot when they would hit the mark, will labour to come as nigh as they can. All things in this world be unperfect and unconstant, therefore let every man acknowledge his own weakness, in all matters great and small, weighty and merry, and glorify Him, in whom only perfect perfectness is. But now, sir, he that will at all adventures use the seas knowing no more what is to be done in a tempest than in a calm, shall soon become a merchant of eel-skins: so that shooter which putteth no difference, but shooteth in all alike, in rough weather and fair, shall always put his winnings in his eyes.

Little boats and thin boards cannot endure the rage of a tempest. Weak bows and light shafts cannot stand in a rough wind. And likewise as a blind man which should go to a place where he had never been afore, that hath but one straight way to it, and of either side holes and pits to fall into, now falleth into this hole and then into that hole, and never cometh to his journey end, but wandereth always here and there, farther and

farther off: so that archer which ignorantly shooteth neither fair nor foul, standing nor knocking, feather nor head, drawing nor loosing, nor considering any compass, shall always shoot short and long, wide and far off, and never come near, except perchance he stumble sometime on the mark. For ignorance is nothing else but mere blindness.

A master of a ship first learneth to know the cunning of a tempest, the nature of it, and how to behave himself in it, either with changing his course, or pulling down his high tops and broad sails, being glad to eschew[1] as much of the weather as he can: even so a good archer will first with diligent use and marking the weather, learn to know the nature of the wind, and with wisdom, will measure in his mind how much it will alter his shoot, either in length keeping, or else in straight shooting, and so with changing his standing, or taking another shaft, the which he knoweth perfectly to be fitter for his purpose, either because it is lower feathered, or else because it is of a better wing, will so handle with discretion his shoot, that he shall seem rather to have the weather under his rule, by good head-giving, than the weather to rule his shaft by any sudden changing.

Therefore in shooting there is as much difference betwixt an archer that is a good weather-man, and another that knoweth and marketh nothing, as is betwixt a blind man and he that can see.—*Toxiphilus.*

[1] shun, avoid.

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED

1515(?)–1580

BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

THE king the same day found a shallow, between Corbie and Peronne, which never was espied before, at which he with his army and carriages the night ensuing, passed the water of Somme without let[1] or danger, and therewith determined to make haste towards Calais, and not to seek for battle, except he were thereto constrained, because that his army by sickness was sore diminished, insomuch that he had but only two thousand horsemen and thirteen thousand archers, billmen, and of all sorts of other footmen.

The Englishmen were brought into some distress in this journey, by reason of their victuals in manner spent, and no hope to get more: for the enemies had destroyed all the corn before they came. Rest could they none take, for their enemies with alarms did ever so infest them: daily it rained, and nightly it freezed: of fuel there was great scarcity, of fluxes[2] plenty: money enough, but wares for their relief to bestow it on, had they none. Yet in this great necessity, the poor people of the country were not spoiled, nor anything taken of them without payment, nor any outrage or offence done by the Englishmen, except one, which was, that a soldier took a pyx out of a church, for which he was apprehended, and the king not once removed till the box was

[1] hindrance. [2] floods.

restored, and the offender strangled. The people of the countries thereabout, hearing of such zeal in him, to the maintenance of justice, ministered to his army victuals, and other necessaries, although by open proclamation so to do they were prohibited.

The French king being at Rouen, and hearing that King Henry was passed the river of Somme, was much displeased therewith, and assembling his council to the number of five-and-thirty, asked their advice what was to be done. There was amongst these five-and-thirty, his son the Dauphin, calling himself King of Sicily; the Dukes of Berri and Brittany, the Earl of Ponthieu the king's youngest son, and other high estates. At length thirty of them agreed that the Englishmen should not depart unfought withal, and five were of a contrary opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter: and so Montjoy king-at-arms was sent to the King of England to defy him as the enemy of France, and to tell him that he should shortly have battle. King Henry advisedly answered: 'Mine intent is to do as it pleaseth God, I will not seek your master at this time; but if he or his seek me, I will meet with them God willing. If any of your nation attempt once to stop me in my journey now towards Calais, at their jeopardy be it; and yet I wish not any of you so unadvised, as to be the occasion that I dye your tawny ground with your red blood.'

When he had thus answered the herald, he gave him a princely reward, and licence to depart. Upon whose return, with this answer, it was incontinently on the French side proclaimed, that all men of war should resort to the Constable to fight with the King of England. Whereupon,

all men apt for armour and desirous of honour, drew them toward the field. The Dauphin sore desired to have been at the battle, but he was prohibited by his father: likewise Philip Earl of Charleroi would gladly have been there, if his father the Duke of Bourgogne would have suffered him: many of his men stole away, and went to the Frenchmen. The King of England hearing that the Frenchmen approached, and that there was another river for him to pass with his army by a bridge, and doubting lest if the same bridge should be broken, it would be greatly to his hindrance, appointed certain captains with their bands to go thither with all speed before him, and to take possession thereof, and so to keep it till his coming thither.

Those that were sent, finding the Frenchmen busy to break down their bridge, assailed them so vigorously that they discomfited them, and took and slew them; and so the bridge was preserved till the king came, and passed the river by the same with his whole army. This was on the two-and-twentieth day of October. The Duke of York that led the vanguard (after the army was passed the river) mounted up to the height of an hill with his people, and sent out scouts to discover the country, the which upon their return advertised him that a great army of Frenchmen was at hand; approaching towards them. The duke declared to the king what he had heard, and the king thereupon, without all fear or trouble of mind, caused the battle which he led himself to stay, and incontinently rode forth to view his adversaries, and that done, returned to his people, and with cheerful countenance caused them to be put

in order of battle, assigning to every captain such room and place as he thought convenient, and so kept them still in that order till night was come, and then determined to seek a place to encamp and lodge his army in for that night.

There was not one amongst them that knew any certain place whither to go, in that unknown country: but by chance they happened upon a beaten way, white in sight; by the which they were brought unto a little village, where they were refreshed with meat and drink somewhat more plenteously than they had been divers days before. Order was taken by commandment from the king after the army was first set in battle array, that no noise or clamour should be made in the host; so that in marching forth to this village, every man kept himself quiet: but at their coming into the village, fires were made to give light on every side, as there likewise were in the French host, which was encamped not past two hundred and fifty paces distant from the English. The chief leaders of the French host were these: the Constable of France, the marshal, the admiral, the Lord Rambures master of the crossbows, and other of the French nobility, which came and pitched down their standards and banners in the county of Saint Paul, within the territory of Agincourt, having in their army (as some write) to the number of threescore thousand horsemen, besides footmen, wagoners and other.

They were lodged even in the way by the which the Englishmen must needs pass towards Calais, and all that night after their coming thither, made great cheer and were very merry, pleasant, and full of game. The Englishmen also for their parts

were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter, and yet they were both hungry, weary, sore travelled, and vexed with many cold diseases. Howbeit reconciling themselves with God by housel[1] and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the only giver of victory, they determined rather to die than to yield, or flee. The day following was the five-and-twentieth of October in the year 1415, being then Friday, and the feast of Crispin and Crispinian, a day fair and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowful and unlucky to the French.

In the morning the French captains made three battles, in the vanward were eight thousand helms of knights and esquires, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred crossbows which were guided by the Lord de la Brette, Constable of France, having with him the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Ewe and Richmond, the Marshal Bouciquault, and the master of the crossbows, the Lord Dampier Admiral of France, and other captains. The Earl of Vendôme with sixteen hundred men of arms were ordered for a wing to that battle. And the other wing was guided by Sir Guichard Dolphine, Sir Clugnet of Brabant, and Sir Lewis Bourdon, with eight hundred men of arms, of elect chosen persons. And to break the shot of the Englishmen were appointed Sir Guilliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maillie, and Alen de Gaspanes, with other eight hundred of arms.

In the middle ward were assigned as many persons, or more, as were in the foremost battle, and the charge thereof was committed to the

[1] by housel = by taking the Sacrament.

Dukes of Bar and Alençon, the Earls of Nevers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grand Pré, and of Russie. And in the rearward were all the other men of arms guided by the Earls of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauconberg, and the Lord of Lourreie, Captain of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolonois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered under their standards and banners, made a great show: for surely they were esteemed in number six times as many or more than was the whole company of the Englishmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They rested themselves, waiting for the bloody blast of the terrible trumpet, till the hour between nine and ten of the clock of the same day, during which season the Constable made unto the captains and other men of war a pithy oration, exhorting and encouraging them to do valiantly, with many comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henry also, like a leader, and not as one led, like a sovereign and not an inferior, perceiving a plot of ground very strong and meet for his purpose, which on the back-half was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to embattle his host, and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most advantage.

First he sent privily two hundred archers into a low meadow, which was near to the vanguard of his enemies, but separated with a great ditch; commanding them there to keep themselves close till they had a token to them given, to let drive at their adversaries: beside this he appointed a vanward, of the which he made captain Edward,

Duke of York, who of an haughty courage had desired that office, and with him were the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope, and this battle was all of archers. The middle ward was governed by the king himself, with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Marshall, Oxford, and Suffolk, in the which were all the strong billmen. The Duke of Exeter, uncle to the king, led the rearward, which was mixed both with billmen and archers. The horsemen like wings went on every side of the battle.

Thus the king having ordered his battles, feared not the puissance of his enemies, but yet to provide that they should not with the multitude of horsemen break the order of his archers, in whom the force of his army consisted (for in those days the yeomen had their limbs at liberty, since their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their jacks long and easy to shoot in; so that they might draw bows of great strength, and shoot arrows of a yard long, beside the head), he caused stakes bound with iron, sharp at both ends, of the length of five or six foot to be pitched before the archers, and of each side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the barded[1] horses ran rashly upon them, they might shortly be gored and destroyed. Certain persons also were appointed to remove the stakes, as by the moving of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the horsemen stood like a bulwark between them and their enemies, without the stakes. This device of fortifying an army was at this time first invented; but since that time they have devised caltrops, harrows, and other

[1] caparisoned.

new engines against the force of horsemen; so that if the enemies run hastily upon the same, either are their horses wounded with the stakes, or their feet hurt with the other engines, so as thereby the beasts are gored, or else made unable to maintain their course.

King Henry, by reason of his small number of people to fill up his battles, placed his vanguard so on the right hand of the main battle, which himself led, that the distance betwixt them might scarce be perceived, and so in like case was the rearward joined on the left hand, that the one might the more readily succour another in time of need. When he had thus ordered his battles, he left a small company to keep his camp and carriage,[1] which remained still in the village, and then calling his captains and soldiers about him, he made to them a right grave oration, moving them to play the men, whereby to obtain a glorious victory, as there was hope certain they should, the rather if they would but remember the just cause for which they fought, and whom they should encounter, such faint-hearted people as their ancestors had so often overcome. To conclude, many words of courage he uttered, to stir them to do manfully, assuring them that England should never be charged with his ransom, nor any Frenchman triumph over him as a captive; for either by famous death or glorious victory would he (by God's grace) win honour and fame.

It is said, that as he heard one of the host utter his wish to another thus: 'I would to God there were with us now so many good soldiers as are at this hour within England!' the king answered:

[1] baggage.

'I would not wish a man more here than I have; we are indeed in comparison to the enemies but a few, but if God of his clemency do favour us, and our just cause (as I trust he will) we shall speed well enough. But let no man ascribe victory to our own strength and might, but only to God's assistance, to whom I have no doubt we shall worthily have cause to give thanks therefor. And if so be that for our offences' sakes we shall be delivered into the hands of our enemies, the less number we be, the less damage shall the realm of England sustain: but if we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victory (our minds being prone to pride) we should thereupon peradventure ascribe the victory not so much to the gift of God as to our own puissance, and thereby provoke his high indignation and displeasure against us: and if the enemy get the upper hand, then should our realm and country suffer more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and show yourselves valiant, God and our just quarrel shall defend us, and deliver these our proud adversaries with all the multitude of them which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our hands.' Whilst the king was yet thus in speech, either army so maligned the other, being as then in open sight, that every man cried: 'Forward, forward.' The Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and York were of the same opinion, yet the king stayed a while, lest any jeopardy were not foreseen, or any hazard not prevented. The Frenchmen in the meanwhile, as though they had been sure of victory, made great triumph, for the captains had determined before how to divide the spoil, and the soldiers the night before

had played the Englishmen at dice. The noblemen had devised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantly convey the king captive to the city of Paris, crying to their soldiers: 'Haste you to the spoil, glory and honour'; little weening (God wot) how soon their brags should be blown away.

Here we may not forget how the French thus in their jollity sent an herald to King Henry, to inquire what ransom he would offer. Whereunto he answered, that within two or three hours he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common[1] rather with the Englishmen for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their deliverance, promising for his own part that his dead carcass should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his living body should pay any ransom. When the messenger was come back to the French host, the men of war put on their helmets, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battle. They thought themselves so sure of victory, that divers of the noblemen made such haste towards the battle, that they left many of their servants and men of war behind them, and some of them would not once stay for their standards: as amongst other the Duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a banner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a spear, the which he commanded to be borne before him instead of his standard. But when both these armies coming within danger either of other, set in full order of battle on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either other's demeanour, being not distant in sunder past

[1] commune, deal, negotiate.

three bow-shots. And when they had on both parts thus stayed a good while without doing anything (except that certain of the French horsemen advancing forwards, betwixt both the hosts, were by the English archers constrained to return back) advice was taken amongst the Englishmen what was best for them to do. Thereupon all things considered, it was determined that since the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his army embattled (as ye have heard) should march towards them, and so leaving their truss and baggage in the village where they lodged the night before, only with their weapons, armour, and stakes prepared for the purpose, as ye have heard.

These made somewhat forward, before whom there went an old knight, Sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the war) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast up his warder, all the army shouted, but that was a sign to the archers in the meadow, which therewith shot wholly altogether at the vanward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceived the archers in the meadow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all haste set upon the foreward of King Henry; but ere they could join, the archers in the forefront and the archers on that side which stood in the meadow so wounded the footmen, galled the horses, and cumbered the men of arms, that the footmen durst not go forward, the horsemen ran together upon plumps[1] without order, some overthrew such as were next them, and the horses overthrew their masters, and so at the first joining, the Frenchmen

[1] bands.

were foully discomforted and the Englishmen highly encouraged.

When the French vanward were thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast away their bows, and took into their hands axes, malls, swords, bills, and other hand-weapons, and with the same slew the Frenchmen, until they came to the middle ward. Then approached the king, and so encouraged his people, that shortly the second battle of the Frenchmen was overthrown and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men; howbeit, divers were relieved by their varlets, and conveyed out of the field. The English were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enemies, nor would once break out of their array of battle. Yet sundry of the French strongly withstood the fierceness of the English, when they came to handy strokes, so that the fight sometimes was doubtful and perilous. Yet as part of the French horsemen set their courses to have entered upon the king's battle, with the stakes overthrown, they were either taken or slain. Thus this battle continued three long hours.

The king that day showed himself a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the Duke of Alençon; yet with plain strength he slew two of the duke's company, and felled the duke himself; whom when he would have yielded, the king's guard (contrary to his mind) slew out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that day's journey, caused his horsemen to fetch a compass about, and to join with him against the rearward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the French-

men perceived his intent, they were suddenly amazed and ran away like sheep, without order or array. Which when the king perceived, he encouraged his men, and followed so quickly upon the enemies, that they ran hither and thither, casting away their armour; many on their knees desired to have their lives saved.

In the mean season, while the battle thus continued, and that the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certain Frenchmen on horseback, whereof were Captains Robinet of Borneville, Rifflart of Clamas, Isambert of Agincourt, and other men of arms, to the number of six hundred horsemen, which were the first that fled, hearing that the English tents and pavilions were a good way distant from the army, without any sufficient guard to defend the same, either upon a covetous meaning to gain by the spoil, or upon a desire to be revenged, entered upon the king's camp, and there spoiled the hails,[1] robbed the tents, brake up chests, and carried away caskets, and slew such servants as they found to make any resistance. For which treason and haskardie[2] in thus leaving their camp at the very point of fight, for winning of spoil where none to defend it, very many were after committed to prison, and had lost their lives, if the Dauphin had longer lived.

But when the outcry of the lackeys and boys, which ran away for fear of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the camp, came to the king's ears, he doubting lest his enemies shall gather together again, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enemies, or the very enemies to their takers indeed

[1] pavilions. [2] rascality.

if they were suffered to live, contrary to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet that every man (upon pain of death) should incontinently slay his prisoner. When this dolorous decree, and pitiful proclamation was pronounced, pity it was to see how some Frenchmen were suddenly sticked with daggers, some were brained with pole-axes, some slain with malls, others had their throats cut, and some their bellies paunched, so that in effect, having respect to the great number, few prisoners were saved.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen disposed themselves in order of battle, ready to abide a new field, and also to invade, and newly set on their enemies, with great force they assailed the Earls of Marle and Fauconberg, and the Lords of Lourreie and of Thine, with six hundred men of arms, who had all that day kept together, but now slain and beaten down out of hand. Some write, that the king perceiving his enemies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to give a new battle for preservation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and give battle: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight again, not only those prisoners which his people already had taken; but also so many of them as in this new conflict which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delay parted out of the field. And so about four of the clock in the afternoon, the king when he saw no appearance of enemies caused the retreat to be blown; and

gathering his army together, gave thanks to almighty God for so happy a victory, causing his prelates and chaplains to sing this psalm : *In exitu Israel de Aegypto,* and commanded every man to kneel down on the ground at this verse : *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.* Which done, he caused *Te Deum* with certain anthems to be sung, giving laud and praise to God, without boasting of his own force or any human power. That night he and his people took rest, and refreshed themselves with such victuals as they found in the French camp, but lodged in the same village where he lay the night before.

In the morning, Montjoy king at arms and four other French heralds came to the king to know the number of prisoners, and to desire burial for the dead. Before he made them answer (to understand what they would say) he demanded of them why they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victory was his or theirs ? When Montjoy by true and just confession had cleared that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montjoy to understand the name of the castle near adjoining ; when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, 'Then shall this conflict be called the battle of Agincourt'. He feasted the French officers of arms that day, and granted them their request, which busily sought through the field for such as were slain. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, and found many hurt, but not in jeopardy of their lives, whom they took prisoners, and brought them to their tents. When the King of England had well refreshed himself,

and his soldiers, that had taken the spoil of such as were slain, he with his prisoners in good order returned to his town of Calais.—*Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

JOHN FOXE

1516–1587

LATIMER'S IMPRISONMENT AND MARTYRDOM

And as touching himself he ever affirmed that the preaching of the Gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly he was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed King Edward, not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down, by the doing, no doubt, of Winchester, into the country, to call him up: of whose coming, although Master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Carless (whose story hereafter followeth), yet so far was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him: 'My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me; and be it known unto you, and to the whole world, that I go as willingly to London at this present,

being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was to any place in the world. And I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so he will able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally,' &c. At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him. By whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him to appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus Master Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London through Smithfield, where merely he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him, was brought before the Council; where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was cast again into the Tower; where being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall: yet he showed himself not only patient, but also cheerful, in and above all that which they could or would work against him; yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies. It is not unknown to the ears of many what he answered to the Lieutenant, being then in the Tower. For when the Lieutenant's

man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well-nigh starved for cold, merely bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

The Lieutenant hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner. And so coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before, how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive them, &c. 'Yea, master lieutenant, so I said,' quoth he, 'for you look, I think, that I should burn: but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation; for I am like here to starve for cold.'

Many suchlike answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, proceeding not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of such termagants, but rather deluding the same. . . .

Thus Master Latimer passing a long time in the Tower with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence he was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Master Ridley, Bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, as is before touched; the manner and order of which disputation between them and the university doctors is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also it is declared, how and by whom the said

Latimer, with his other fellow prisoners, were condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, where they continued from the month of April above-mentioned, to this present month of October; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all, in this latter time of his imprisonment. But in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and, amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

Secondly, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words, 'once again, once again,' he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accustomably to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof after following did

declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all these his requests.

First, concerning profession, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire upon him, and upon the learned and godly bishop, Master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards Heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, *Fidelis est Deus qui non sinit nos tentari supra id quod possumus*: 'God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength.' And so afterward by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most graciously granted his request, which was, that he might shed his heart blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again to this realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which [being] so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and

to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorate and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof, she was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father Latimer so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true natural and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Master Latimer.

The same God, which at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and Christian prince, and her subjects, that every one in his state and calling we may so serve his glory, and walk in their wholesome example that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him.—*Acts and Monuments.*

CRANMER'S MARTYRDOM

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down, he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare, likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was showed bare, on which was not seen one hair. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity struck the affection both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention hath been made before, began to exhort him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and other that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly: and chid those sergeants and citizens who had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasenose.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer,

whom when they perceived to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand in the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face), that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flames with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving of his members, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated 'his unworthy right hand', so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!' in the greatness of the flames he gave up the ghost.—*Acts and Monuments.*

SIR THOMAS NORTH

1535 (?)–1603 (?)

FLIGHT OF ANTONY

So, when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he set all the other ships on fire but threescore ships of Egypt, and reserved only but the best and greatest galleys, from three banks unto ten banks of oars. Into them he put two-and-twenty

thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now, as he was setting his men in order of battle, there was a captain, and a valiant man, that had served Antonius in many battles and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who, as Antonius passed by him, cried out unto him and said: 'O noble emperor, how cometh it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine and this sword? Let the Egyptians and Phoenicians fight by sea, and set us on the mainland, where we use to conquer, or to be slain on our feet.' Antonius passed by him and said never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himself. For, when the masters of the galleys and pilots would have let their sails alone, he made them clap them on, saying to colour the matter withal, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day and the three days following, the sea rose so high and was so boisterous, that the battle was put off. The fifth day the storm ceased and the sea calmed again, and then they rowed with force of oars in battle one against the other, Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Caelius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius the midst. Octavius Caesar, on the other side, had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himself. For the armies by land, Canidius was general of Antonius' side, and Taurus of Caesar's side: who kept their men in battle array the one before the other, upon the seaside, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the chieftains: Antonius,

being in a swift pinnace, was carried up and down by force of oars through his army, and spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on mainland, because of the steadiness and heaviness of their ships : and commanded the pilots and masters of the galleys that they should not stir, none otherwise than if they were at anchor, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not go out of the strait of the gulf. Caesar betimes in the morning, going out of his tent to see his ships throughout, met a man by chance that drove an ass before him. Caesar asked the man what his name was. The poor man told him that his name was Eutychus, to say, Fortunate : and his ass's name Nicon, to say, Conqueror. Therefore Caesar after he had won the battle setting out the market-place with the spurs of the galleys he had taken, for a sign of his victory, he caused also the man and his ass to be set up in brass. When he had visited the order of his army throughout, he took a little pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he saw his enemies lie still in the strait, and stirred not. For, discerning them afar off, men would have thought they had been ships riding at anchor, and a good while he was so persuaded. So he kept his galleys eight furlong from his enemies. About noon there rose a little gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius' men waxing angry with tarrying so long, and trusting to the greatness and height of their ships, as if they had been invincible, they began to march forward with their left wing. Caesar seeing that was a glad man, and began a little to give back from the right wing, to allure them to come

farther out of the strait and gulf, to the end that he might with his light ships well manned with watermen turn and environ the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their bigness as also for lack of watermen to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to join, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For, on the one side, Antonius' ships for their heaviness could not have the strength and swiftness to make their blows of any force: and Caesar's ships, on the other side, took great heed not to rush and shock with the forecastles of Antonius' ships, whose prows were armed with great brazen spurs. Furthermore they durst not flank them, because their points were easily broken, which way so ever they came to set upon his ships, that were made of great main square pieces of timber, bound together with great iron pins: so that the battle was much like to a battle by land, or, to speak more properly, to the assault of a city. For there were always three or four of Caesar's ships about one of Antonius' ships, and the soldiers fought with their pikes, halberds, and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. Antonius' ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their cross-bows and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wood that were upon their ships. Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Caesar's army, to compass in Antonius' ships that fought, he was driven also to loose off to have more room, and, going a little at one side, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst

of the battle. For they were sore distressed by Arruntius. Howbeit the battle was yet of even hand, and the victory doubtful, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the three-score ships of Cleopatra busy about their yard-masts, and hoisting sail to fly. So they fled through the midst of them that were in fight, for they had been placed behind the great ships, and did marvellously disorder the other ships. For the enemies themselves wondered much to see them sail in that sort with full sail towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius showed plainly, that he had not only lost the courage and heart of an emperor, but also of a valiant man, and that he was not his own man (proving that true which an old man spake in mirth, that the soul of a lover lived in another body, and not in his own): he was so carried away with the vain love of this woman, as if he had been glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For, when he saw Cleopatra's ship under sail, he forgot, forsook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and embarked upon a galley with five banks of oars, to follow her that was already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew his galley afar off, she lift up a sign in the poop of her ship, and so Antonius coming to it was plucked up where Cleopatra was: howbeit he saw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and sat down alone in the prow of his ship, and said never a word, clapping his head between both his hands.—*Plutarch's Life of Antony (translated from the French of Amyot).*

THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA

When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Caesar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead unto the soul of Antonius. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort: 'O my dear lord Antonius, not long since I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer unto thee the funeral springlings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blows, which they carefully guard and keep, only to triumph of thee: look therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me, for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, since now they carry her away. Whilst we lived together, nothing could sever our companies: but now at our death I fear me they will make us change our countries. For as thou being a Roman hast been buried in Egypt, even so, wretched creature, I, an Egyptian, shall be buried in Italy, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, since our gods here have forsaken us, suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in me they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one self tomb with thee. For though my griefs and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could less bear withal, than this small

time which I have been driven to live alone without thee.' Then, having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tomb with garlands and sundry nosegays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed herself she fell to her meat, and was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner there came a countryman, and brought her a basket. The soldiers that warded at the gates asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and showed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The countryman laughed to hear them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certain table written and sealed unto Caesar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombs where she was, but the two women: then she shut the doors to her. Caesar, when he received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbeit he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden. For those whom Caesar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors they found Cleopatra stark dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which

was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman called Charmion half-dead, and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra wore upon her head. One of the soldiers, seeing her, angrily said unto her: 'Is that well done, Charmion?' 'Very well,' said she again, 'and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings.' She said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report that this aspic was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that, when she should think to take out the figs, the aspic should bite her before she should see her: howbeit that, when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, 'Art thou here then?' And so, her arm being naked, she put it to the aspic to be bitten. Others say again, she kept it in a box, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the aspic, being angered withal, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. Howbeit few can tell the truth. For they report also, that she had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head: and yet was there no mark seen of her body, or any sign discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tomb. But it was reported only, that there were seen certain fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the tomb side toward the sea, and specially by the door side. Some say also, that they found two little pretty bitings in her arm, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Caesar himself gave credit unto, because in his triumph he carried Cleopatra's image, with an aspic biting of her arm. And thus

goeth the report of her death. Now Cæsar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded she should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable burial. Cleopatra died being eight-and-thirty years old, after she had reigned two-and-twenty years, and governed above fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three-and-fifty years: and others say, six-and-fifty.—*Plutarch's Life of Antony.*

THE BANISHMENT AND ANGER OF CORIOLANUS

When they came to tell the voices of the Tribes, there were three voices odd which condemned him to be banished for life. After declaration of the sentence, the people made such joy, as they never rejoiced more for any battle they had won upon their enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so jocundly from the Assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate again, in contrary manner, were as sad and heavy, repenting themselves beyond measure that they had not rather determined to have done and suffered anything whatsoever, before the common people should so arrogantly and outrageously have abused their authority. There needed no difference of garments, I warrant you, nor outward shows to know a plebeian from a patrician, for they were easily discerned by their looks. For he that was on the people's side looked cheerly on the matter; but he that was sad, and hung down his head, he was sure of the noblemen's side. Saving Martius

alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gait did ever show himself abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he only of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly show no manner of passion, nor care at all of himself. Not that he did patiently bear and temper his evil hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition; but because he was so carried away with the vehemency of anger and desire of revenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people judge not to be sorrow, although indeed it be the very same. For when sorrow (as you would say) is set a-fire, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth away for that time all faintness of heart, and natural fear. And this is the cause why the choleric man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man set on fire with a burning ague; for when a man's heart is troubled within, his pulse will beat marvellous strongly.

Now that Martius was even in that taking, it appeared true soon after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, and had taken his leave of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shrieking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and persuaded them to be content with his chance: he went immediately to the gate of the city, accompanied with a great number of patricians, that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or four of his friends only, taking nothing with him, nor requesting anything of any man. So he remained a few days in the country at his houses, turmoiled with sundry sorts and kinds of thoughts, such as the fire of his choler did stir up. In the end, seeing

he could resolve no way to take a profitable or honourable course, but only was pricked forward still to be revenged of the Romans: he thought to raise up some great wars against them by their nearest neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way first to stir up the Volsces against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had received not long before, and that their power was not so much impaired as their malice and desire was increased to be revenged of the Romans. Now in the city of Antium there was one called Tullus Aufidius, who for his riches, as also for his nobility and valiantness, was honoured among the Volsces as a king. Martius knew very well that Tullus did more malice and envy him than he did all the Romans besides: because that many times in battles where they met, they were ever at the encounter one against another, like lusty courageous youths, striving in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. Insomuch as besides the common quarrel between them, there was bred a marvellous private hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that Tullus Aufidius was a man of a great mind, and that he above all other of the Volsces most desired revenge of the Romans, for the injuries they had done unto them, he did an act that confirmed the true words of an ancient poet, who said:

It is a thing full hard, man's anger to withstand,
If it be stiffly bent to take an enterprise in hand,
For then most men will have the thing that they desire,
Although it cost their lives therefor, such force hath wicked ire.

And so did he. For he disguised himself in such array and attire as he thought no man could ever have known him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparel he had upon his back: and as Homer said of Ulysses—

So did he enter into the enemies' town.

It was even twilight when he entered the city of Antium, and many people met him in the streets, but no man knew him. So he went directly to Tullus Aufidius' house, and when he came thither, he got him up straight to the chimney hearth, and sat him down, and spake not a word to any man, his face all muffled over. They of the house spying him, wondered what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For ill-favouredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certain majesty in his countenance and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus, who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. Tullus rose presently from the board, and coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then Martius unmuffled himself, and after he had paused awhile, making no answer, he said unto him: 'If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus, and seeing me, dost not perhaps believe me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessity bewray myself to be that I am. I am Caius Martius, who hath done to thyself particularly, and to all the Volsces generally, great hurt and mischief, which I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I bare. For I never had other benefit nor recompense of the true and painful service I have done, and the extreme dangers I have been in, but this only

surname: a good memory and witness of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest bear me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me; for the rest, the envy and cruelty of the people of Rome have taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobility and magistrates, who have forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremity hath now driven me to come as a poor suitor, to take thy chimney hearth, not of any hope I have to save my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to have put myself in hazard: but pricked forward with desire to be revenged of them that thus have banished me, which now I do begin, in putting my person into the hands of their enemies. Wherefore, if thou hast any heart to be wreaked of the injuries thy enemies have done thee, speed thee now, and let my misery serve thy turn, and so use it, as my service may be a benefit to the Volsces: promising thee that I will fight with better good will for all you than I did when I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiantly who know the force of the enemy than such as have never proved it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art weary to prove fortune any more, then am I also weary to live any longer. And it were no wisdom in thee to save the life of him who hath been heretofore thy mortal enemy, and whose service now can nothing help nor pleasure thee.' Tullus hearing what he said, was a marvellous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he said unto him: 'Stand up, O Martius, and be of good cheer, for in proffering thyself unto us, thou dost us great honour: and by this means thou mayest hope

also of greater things at all the Volsces' hands.' So he feasted him for that time, and entertained him in the honourablest manner he could, talking with him in no other matters at that present.—*Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus.*

EDMUND SPENSER

1552–1599

THE FAERY QUEENE

A LETTER of the Author's expounding his whole intention in the course of this work: which for that it giveth great light to the reader, for the better understanding is hereunto annexed.

Sir, knowing how doubtfully all allegories may be construed, and this book of mine, which I have entituled *The Faery Queene*, being a continued allegory, or dark conceit, I have thought good as well for avoiding of jealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof (being so by you commanded), to discover unto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned, without expressing of any particular purposes or by-accidents therein occasioned. The general end therefore of all the book is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline: which for that I conceived should be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historical fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read rather for variety of matter than for profit of the ensample: I chose

the history of King Arthur, as most fit for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many men's former works, and also furthest from the danger of envy, and suspicion of present time. In which I have followed all the antique poets historical, first Homer, who in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governor and a virtuous man, the one in his *Ilias*, the other in his *Odysseis*: then Virgil, whose like intention was to do in the person of Aeneas: after him Ariosto comprised them both in his *Orlando*: and lately Tasso dissevered them again, and formed both parts in two persons, namely that part which they in Philosophy call Ethic, or virtues of a private man, coloured in his *Rinaldo*: the other named Politic in his *Godfredo*. By ensample of which excellent poets, I labour to portray in Arthur, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private moral virtues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of these first twelve books: which if I find to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part of politic virtues in his person, after that he came to be king. To some I know this method will seem displeasant, which had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they use, than thus cloudily enwrapped in allegorical devices. But such, meseem, should be satisfied with the use of these days, seeing all things accounted by their shows, and nothing esteemed of that is not delightful and pleasing to common sense. For this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one in the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a

Commonwealth such as it should be, but the other in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a government such as might best be: so much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample than by rule. So have I laboured to do in the person of Arthur: whom I conceive after his long education by Timon, to whom he was by Merlin delivered to be brought up, so soon as he was born of the Lady Igrayne, to have seen in a dream or vision the Faery Queen, with whose excellent beauty ravished, he awaking resolved to seek her out, and so being by Merlin armed, and by Timon thoroughly instructed, he went to seek her forth in Faeryland. In that Faery Queen I mean glory in my general intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our sovereign the Queen, and her kingdom in Faeryland. And yet in some places else, I do otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royal Queen or Empress, the other of a most virtuous and beautiful Lady, this latter part in some places I do express in Belphoebe, fashioning her name according to your own excellent concept of Cynthia (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana). So in the person of Prince Arthur I set forth magnificence in particular, which virtue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all, therefore in the whole course I mention the deeds of Arthur applyable to that virtue, which I write of in that book. But of the twelve other virtues, I make twelve other knights the patrons, for the more variety of the history: of which these three books contain

three, the first of the knight of the Redcross, in whom I express Holiness : the second of Sir Guyon, in whom I set forth Temperance : the third of Britomartis a Lady knight, in whom I picture Chastity. But because the beginning of the whole work seemeth abrupt and as depending upon other antecedents, it needs that ye know the occasion of these three knights several adventures. For the method of a Poet historical is not such as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affairs orderly as they were done, accounting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the midst, even where it most concerneth him, and there recoursing to the things forepast, and divining of things to come, maketh a pleasing analysis of all. The beginning therefore of my history, if it were to be told by an Historiographer, should be the twelfth book, which is the last, where I devise that the Faery Queen kept her annual feast twelve days, upon which twelve several days, the occasions of the twelve several adventures happened, which being undertaken by twelve several knights, are in these twelve books severally handled and discoursed. The first was this. In the beginning of the feast, there presented himself a tall clownish young man, who falling before the Queen of Faeries desired a boon (as the manner then was) which during that feast she might not refuse : which was that he might have the achievement of any adventure which during that feast should happen ; that being granted, he rested him on the floor, unfit through his rusticity for a better place. Soon after entered a fair lady in mourning weeds, riding on a white ass, with a dwarf behind her leading

a warlike steed, that bore the arms of a knight, and his spear in the dwarf's hand. She falling before the Queen of Faeries, complained that her father and mother, an ancient King and Queen, had been by a huge dragon many years shut up in a brazen castle, who thence suffered them not to issue: and therefore besought the Faery Queen to assign her some one of her knights to take on him that exploit. Presently that clownish person upstarting, desired that adventure: whereat the Queen much wondering, and the lady much gainsaying, yet he earnestly importuned his desire. In the end the lady told him that unless that armour which she brought would serve him (that is the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul, v. Ephes.) that he could not succeed in that enterprise, which being forthwith put upon him with due furnitures thereunto, he seemed the goodliest man in all that company, and was well liked of the lady. And eftsoon taking on him knighthood, and mounting on that strange courser, he went forth with her on that adventure: where beginneth the first book, viz.

A gentle knight was pricking on the plain, &c.

The second day there came in a palmer bearing an infant with bloody hands, whose parents he complained to have been slain by an enchantress called Acrasia: and therefore craved of the Faery Queen to appoint him some knight to perform that adventure, which being assigned to Sir Guyon, he presently went forth with that same palmer: which is the beginning of the second book and the whole subject thereof. The third day there came in a groom who complained before the Faery

Queen that a vile enchanter called Busirane had in hand a most fair lady called Amoretta, whom he kept in most grievous torment, because she would not yield him the pleasure of her body. Whereupon Sir Scudamour the lover of that lady presently took on him that adventure. But being unable to perform it by reason of the hard enchantments, after long sorrow, in the end met with Britomartis, who succoured him, and rescued his love.

But by occasion hereof, many other adventures are intermeddled, but rather as accidents than intendments. As the love of Britomart, the overthrow of Marinell, the misery of Florimell, the virtuousness of Belphoebe, the lasciviousness of Hellenora, and many the like.

Thus much, Sir, I have briefly overrun to direct your understanding to the well-head of the history, that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handful grip all the discourse, which otherwise may haply seem tedious and confused. So humbly craving the continuance of your honourable favour towards me, and the eternal establishment of your happiness, I humbly take leave.

Yours most humbly affectionate,

23 January, 1589. ED. SPENSER.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

1552–1618

THE DISCOVERY OF GUIANA

As we abode there awhile our Indian pilot called Ferdinando would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruits and to drink of their artificial

wines, and also to see the place and to know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his which he had with him in the journey: when they came to the village of these people, the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both, yielding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory to spoil and destroy them. But the pilot being quick and of a disposed body slipped their fingers and ran into the woods, and his brother, being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain; with that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again we would presently cut off his head. This old man, being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer dogs, and with so main a cry that all the woods echoed with the shout they made, but at last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting leaped down and swam to the barge half dead with fear; but our good hap was that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeem our pilot withal, for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could, and indeed but for this chance I think we had never found the way either to Guiana or back to our ships; for Ferdinando after a few days knew nothing at all, nor which

way to turn, yea and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tiuitiuas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

The great river of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth: on the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disemboketh by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground, but the islands are very great, many of them as big as the Isle of Wight and bigger, and many less: from the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at least one hundred leagues, so as the river's mouth is no less than three hundred miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of Amazones: all those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these Tiuitiuas, of which there are two chief lords which have continual wars one with the other: the islands which lie on the right hand are called Pallamos, and the land on the left Hororotomaka, and the river by which John Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tiuitiuas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground as in other places: in the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those

people do in the low lands near the gulf of Uraba: for between May and September the river of Orenoke riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of anything that is set or sown, and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish and porks for the rest of their sustenance; they have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seen or read. Of these people those that dwell upon the branches of Orenoque called Capuri and Macureo are for the most part carpenters of canoas, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinidado for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations, and notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people, or a more manly. They were wont to make war upon all nations and especially on the cannibals, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those

rivers, but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcass again, and hang it in the Cassique's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas which dwell on the south of Orenoque (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left sixty of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations: but the next morning after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on. At four days' end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other. But soon after the flood of the sea left us, and we enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current or to return as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that

it was but two or three days' work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east, into Amana, but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone our companies began to despair, the weather being extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach : but so long we laboured as many days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all : and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line ; for we were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreasing and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and ability, for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of Captain Gifford and Captain Calfield had spent all their provisions, so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the

land where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals, we relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country and sometimes with fowl and fish: we saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, green, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixed, as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces, without which, having little or no bread and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Ferdinando) told us that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine, and persuaded us that departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge with eight musketeers, Captain Gifford's wherry, with himself and four musketeers, and Captain Calfield with his wherry and as many, and so we entered the mouth of this river, and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all: when we had rowed three hours, we marvelled

we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was, he told us a little farther: after three hours' more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinidado, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more: when we had rowed four and four we saw no sign, and our poor water-men, even heartbroken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot, and if we had well known the way back again by night he had surely gone, but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage thorough those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight a-clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace: but whether it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more: but the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one a-clock after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed we found few people, for the lord of that

place was gone with divers canoes above four hundred miles off, upon a journey towards the head of Orenoque to trade for gold, and to buy women of the cannibals, who afterward unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito in the dark of night, and yet came so near us as his canoes grated against our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts: we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes and of marvellous bigness, but for Lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it for the abundance of them the river of Lagartos in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, that leaping out of

the galley to swim in the mouth of this river was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those Lagartos. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost (for we promised to return before night) and sent the *Lion's Whelps* ship's boat with Captain Whiddon to follow us up the river, but the next day after we had rowed up and down some four score miles we returned, and went on our way up the great river, and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, Captain Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river and with no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after awhile two of the four gave over and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither: those canoes that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for Marguerita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange. But in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who, having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinidado, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes: one of them was a cavaliero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us next unto gold than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes, for now our men cried,

'Let us go on, we care not how far'. After that Captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley, I took my barge and went to the bank's side with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out Captain Gifford and Captain Thyn on one hand, and Captain Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping through the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket, for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men and offered five hundred pound to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vain in that behalf, for they put themselves into one of the small canoes: and so while the greater canoes were in taking they escaped: but seeking after the Spaniards we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes: of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot and carried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all: for when the springs began to break and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone which we call the White Spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a work, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest

if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost by those that only respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity (which I hear hath been often objected) whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a month and odd days as we were from hearing aught from our ships, leaving them meanly manned, above four hundred miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold or rich stones. And to say the truth all the branches and small rivers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such speed, as if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to dig out gold with our nails had been *Opus laboris* but not *Ingenii*: such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of further search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken nor opened in haste, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot, with the rest, feared that

we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death, for the Spaniards to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana itself might come to speech with us persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters and cannibals: but when the poor men and women had seen us and that we gave them meat and to every one some thing or other which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength. But I protest before the majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young, and excellently favoured which came among us without deceit, stark naked.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage, for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a pina or a potato root without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course, so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drew them to admire her Majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place

when we departed to know of the loss or wrong done, and if aught were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinidado, for they were before resolved that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread with divers baskets of roots which were excellent meat, I gave one of the canoes to the Arwacas which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the captain (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent back in the same cause the old Ciawan and Ferdinando my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired with sufficient victual to carry them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ships which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on with my new hired pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victual and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps: but we fastened an anchor upon the land and with main strength drew her off: and so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana

to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slent[1] of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river of Orenoque, out of which this river descended wherein we were: we descried afar off three other canoes as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered up the great river on the right hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the canoes thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidado, and had escaped killing: and when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were, wherewith they came back willingly aboard us: and of such fish and Tortugas eggs as they had gathered, they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers (the one was the river of Amana by which we came from the north and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the west and ran to the sea towards the east) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of Tortugas

[1] slight breeze.

eggs, which are very wholesome meat and greatly restoring, so as our men were now well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and nearness of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down according to promise the lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could, at least he drank good Spanish wine (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs, and fruits digested and purged; they keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world: when we came to his town we found two cassiques, whereof one of them was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife encamped at the port where we anchored, and the other was of that country a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotton hamaca, which we call Brazil beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time, one to the other, and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That cassique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we anchored, and in all my life I have seldom seen a better-favoured woman. She was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots, and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest, for she spake and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own comeliness and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in England so like her, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

... When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters, which ran down Caroli: and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts, above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church-tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain: and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman, but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers

branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand easy to march on, either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation perching on the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up, promised either gold or silver by his complexion.—*Discovery of the Empire of Guiana.*

DEATH

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said: That the Kings and Princes of the world have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsel of Death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred. *I have considered* (saith Solomon) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit*: but who believes it, till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles

the Fifth made him enjoin his son Philip to restore Navarre; and King Francis the First of France, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the Protestants in Merindol[1] and Cabrières,[1] which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet.*—*The History of the World.*

WILLIAM ADLINGTON

About 1566

CUPID AND PSYCHE

'TAKE this box' (said Venus to Psyche) 'and go to hell to Proserpina, and desire her to send me a little of her beauty, as much as will serve me the

[1] villages of the Vaudois.

space of one day, and say that such as I had is consumed away since my son fell sick, but return again quickly for I must dress myself therewithal, and go to the theatre of the gods.' Then poor Psyche perceived the end of all her fortune, thinking verily that she should never return ; and not without cause, whenas she was compelled to go to the gulf and furies of Hell. Wherefore without any further delay she went up to a high tower to throw herself down headlong (thinking that it was the next and readiest way to Hell), but the tower, as inspired, spake unto her, saying, 'O poor miser, why goest thou about to slay thyself ? Why dost thou rashly yield unto thy last peril and danger ? Know thou that if thy spirit be once separate from thy body, thou shalt surely go to Hell, but never to return again, wherefore hearken to me. Lacedemon, a city of Greece, is not far hence. Go thou thither and inquire for the hill Tenarus, whereas thou shalt find a hole leading to Hell, even to the palace of Pluto ; but take heed that thou go not with empty hands to that place of darkness, but carry two sops, sodden in the flour of barley and honey, in thy hands, and two halfpence in thy mouth, and when thou hast passed a good part of that way, thou shalt see a lame ass carrying of wood, and a lame fellow driving him, who will desire thee to give him up the sticks that fall down, but pass thou on and do nothing. By and by thou shalt come unto the river of Hell, whereas Charon is ferryman, who will first have his fare paid him before he will carry the souls over the river in his boat, whereby you may see that avarice reigneth amongst the dead : neither Charon nor Pluto will do anything

for naught; for if it be a poor man that would pass over, and lacketh money, he shall be compelled to die in his journey before they will show him any relief; wherefore deliver to carrion Charon one of the halfpence which thou bearest for thy passage, and let him receive it out of thy mouth. And it shall come to pass as thou sittest in the boat thou shalt see an old man swimming on the top of the river, holding up his deadly hands, and desiring thee to receive him into the bark; but have no regard to his piteous cry. When thou art passed over the flood thou shalt espy old women spinning, who will desire thee to help them, but beware thou do not consent unto them in any case, for these and like baits and traps will Venus set, to make thee let fall one of thy sops: and think not that the keeping of thy sops is a light matter, for if thou lose one of them, thou shalt be assured never to return again to this world. Then thou shalt see a great and marvellous dog with three heads, barking continually at the souls of such as enter in, by reason he can do them no other harm. He lieth day and night before the gate of Proserpina, and keepeth the house of Pluto with great diligence, to whom if thou cast one of thy sops thou mayest have access to Proserpina without all danger. She will make thee good cheer, and entertain thee with delicate meat and drink; but sit thou upon the ground and desire brown bread, and then declare thy message unto her, and when thou hast received such beauty as she giveth, in thy return appease the rage of the dog with thy other sop, and give thy other halfpenny to covetous Charon, and come the same way again into the world as thou

wentest; but above all things have a regard that thou look not in the box, neither be not too curious about the treasure of the divine beauty.'

In this manner the tower spake unto Psyche, and advertised her what she should do, and immediately she took two halfpence, two sops, and all things necessary, and went to the mountain Tenarus to go towards Hell.

After that Psyche had passed by the lame ass, paid her halfpenny for passage, neglected the old man in the river, denied to help the women spinning, and filled the ravenous mouth of the dog with a sop, she came to the chamber of Proserpina. There Psyche would not sit in any royal seat, nor eat any delicate meats, but kneeling at the feet of Proserpina, only contented with coarse bread, declared her message, and after she had received a mystical secret in the box she departed, and stopped the mouth of the dog with the other sop, and paid the boatman the other halfpenny.

When Psyche was returned from Hell to the light of the world she was ravished with great desire, saying, 'Am not I a fool that, knowing that I carry here the divine beauty, will not take a little thereof to garnish my face, to please my lover withal?' And by and by she opened the box, where she could perceive no beauty nor anything else save only an infernal and deadly sleep, which immediately invaded all her members as soon as the box was uncovered, in such sort that she fell down on the ground, and lay there as a sleeping corpse.

But Cupid being now healed of his wound and malady, not able to endure the absence of Psyche, got him secretly out at a window of the chamber

where he was enclosed, and (receiving his wings) took his flight towards his loving wife, whom when he had found he wiped away the sleep from her face, and put it again into the box, and awaked her with the tip of one of his arrows, saying, 'O wretched captive, behold thou wert wellnigh perished again, with thy overmuch curiosity. Well, go thou and do thy message to my mother, and in the mean season I will provide for all things accordingly.' Wherewithal he took his flight into the air, and Psyche brought her present to Venus.—*The Golden Ass by Lucius Apuleius* (*translated*).

PHILIP NICHOLS

fl. 1570

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE AT NOMBRE DE DIOS, 1572

THEN we weighed again and set sail, rowing hard aboard the shore, with as much silence as we could, till we recovered the point of the harbour under the high land. There we stayed, all silent, purposing to attempt the town in the dawning of the day, after that we had reposed ourselves for a while.

But our captain with some other of his best men, finding that our people were talking of the greatness of the town, and what their strength might be, especially by the report of the negroes that we took at the Isle of Pinos, thought it best to put these conceits out of their heads, and therefore to take the opportunity of the rising of the moon that night, persuading them that it was the

day dawning. By this occasion we were at the town a large hour sooner than first was proposed. For we arrived there by three of the clock after midnight. At what time it fortuned that a ship of Spain, of sixty tons, laden with Canary wines and other commodities, which had but lately come into the bay and had not yet furled her sprit-sail (espying our four pinnaces, being an extraordinary number, and those rowing with many oars) sent away her gundeloe[1] toward the town, to give warning. But our Captain, perceiving it, cut betwixt her and the town, forcing her to go to the other side of the bay: whereby we landed without impeachment, although we found one gunner upon the platform in the very place where we landed; being a sandy place and no quay at all, not past twenty yards from the houses. There we found six great pieces of brass ordnance, mounted upon their carriages, some demy, some whole culverin. We presently dismounted them. The gunner fled. The town took alarm (being very ready thereto, by reason of their often disquieting by their near neighbours the Cimaroons); as we perceived, not only by the noise and cries of the people, but by the bell ringing out, and drums running up and down the town.

Our Captain, according to the directions which he had given over night, to such as he had made choice of for the purpose, left twelve to keep the pinnaces; that we might be sure of a safe retreat if the worst befell. And having made sure work of the platform before he would enter the town, he thought best, first to view the Mount on the east side of the town: where he was informed,

[1] ship's boat.

by sundry intelligences the year before, they had an intent to plant ordnance, which might scour round about the town.

Therefore, leaving one half his company to make a stand at the foot of the Mount, he marched up presently unto the top of it, with all speed to try the truth of the report, for the more safety. There we found no piece of ordnance, but only a very fit place prepared for such use, and therefore we left it without any of our men, and with all celerity we returned now down the Mount.

Then our Captain appointed his brother, with John Oxenham and sixteen others of his men, to go about behind the King's Treasure House, and enter near the eastern end of the Market Place: himself, with the rest, would pass up the broad street into the Market Place, with sound of drum and trumpet. The fire-pikes, divided half to the one, and half to the other company, served no less for fright to the enemy than light of our men, who by this means might discern every place very well, as if it were near day: whereas the inhabitants stood amazed at so strange a sight, marvelling what the matter might be, and imagining, by reason of our drums and trumpets sounding in so sundry places, that we had been a far greater number than we were.

Yet, by the means of the soldiers who were in the town, and by reason of the time which we spent in marching up and down the Mount, the soldiers and the inhabitants had put themselves in arms, and brought their companies in some order, at the south-east end of the Market Place, near the Governor's House, and not far from the gate of the town, which is the only one, leading towards

Panama: having (as it seems) gathered themselves thither, either that in the Governor's sight they might show their valour, if it might prevail; or else, that by the gate, they might best take their *vale*, and escape readiest.

And to make a show of far greater numbers of shot, or else of a custom they had, by the like device to terrify the Cimaroons, they had hung lines with matches lighed, overthwart the western end of the Market Place, between the Church and the Cross; as though there had been in a readiness some company of shot, whereas indeed there were not past two or three that taught these lines to dance, till they themselves ran away, as soon as they perceived they were discovered.

But the soldiers and such as were joined with them presented us with a jolly hot volley of shot, beating full upon the egress of that street in which we marched; and levelling very low, so as their bullets ofttimes grazed on the sand.

We stood not to answer them in like terms; but having discharged our first volley of shot, and feathered them with our arrows (which our Captain had caused to be made of purpose in England, not great sheaf arrows, but fine roving shafts, very carefully reserved for the service) we came to the push of pike, so that our fire-pikes being well armed and made of purpose, did us very great service.

For our men with their pikes and short weapons in short time took such order among these gallants (some using the butt end of their pieces instead of other weapons), that partly by reason of our arrows which did us there notable service, partly by occasion of this strange and sudden closing

with them in this manner unlooked for, and the rather for that at the very instant, our Captain's brother, with the other company, with their fire-pikes, entered the Market Place by the eastern street; they, casting down their weapons, fled all out of the town by the gate aforesaid, which had been built for a bar to keep out of the town the Cimaroons, who had often assailed it, but now served for a gap for the Spaniards to fly at.

In following and returning, divers of our men were hurt with the weapons which the enemy had let fall as he fled; somewhat, for that we marched with such speed, but more for that they lay so thick and cross one on the other.

Being returned, we made our stand near the midst of the Market Place, where a tree groweth hard by the Cross; whence our Captain sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the alarm bell, which had continued all this while; but the Church being very strongly built and fast shut, they could not without firing (which our Captain forbade) get into the steeple where the bell rang.

In the meantime, our Captain, having taken two or three Spaniards in their flight, commanded them to show him the Governor's House, where he understood was the ordinary place of unlading the mules of all the treasure which came from Panama by the king's appointment. Although the silver only was kept there; the gold, pearl, and jewels (being there once entered by the king's officer) was carried from thence to the king's Treasure House not far off, being a house very strongly built of lime and stone, for the safe keeping thereof.

At our coming to the Governor's House we

found the great door where the mules do usually unlade, even then opened, a candle lighted upon the top of the stairs; and a fair jennet ready saddled, either for the Governor himself, or some other of his household to carry it after him. By means of this light we saw a huge heap of silver in that nether room; being a pile of bars of silver of, as near as we could guess, seventy feet in length, of ten feet in breadth, and twelve feet in height, piled up against the wall, each bar was between thirty-five and forty pounds in weight.

At sight hereof our Captain commanded straightly that none of us should touch a bar of silver; but stand upon our weapons, because the town was full of people, and there was in the King's Treasure House, near the water-side, more gold and jewels than all our four pinnaces could carry: which we would presently set some in hand to break open, notwithstanding the Spaniard's report of the strength of it.

We were no sooner returned to our strength, but there was a report brought by some of our men that our pinnaces were in danger to be taken; and that if we ourselves got not aboard before day, we should be oppressed with multitude both of soldiers and townspeople. This report had his ground from one Diego, a negro, who in the time of the first conflict, came and called to our pinnaces, to know 'whether they were Captain Drake's?' and upon answer received continued entreating to be taken aboard, though he had first three or four shot made at him, until at length they fetched him; and learned by him that not past eight days before our arrival, the king had sent thither some 150 soldiers to guard the town against the Cima-

roons, and the town at this time was full of people beside; which all the rather believed because it agreed with the report of the negroes which we took before at the Isle of Pinos. And therefore our Captain sent his brother and John Oxenham to understand the truth thereof.

They found our men which we left in our pinnaces much frightened by reason that they saw great troops and companies running up and down with matches lighted, some with other weapons, crying *Que gente? Que gente?* which not having been at the first conflict, but coming from the utter ends of the town (being at least as big as Plymouth) came many times near us; and understanding that we were English, discharged their pieces and ran away.

Presently after this a mighty shower of rain, with a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, fell, which poured down so vehemently (as it usually doth in those countries) that before we could recover the shelter of a certain shade or pent-house at the western end of the King's Treasure House (which seemeth to have been built there of purpose to avoid sun and rain) some of our bow-strings were wet and some of our matches and powder hurt: which while we were careful of, to refurnish and supply, divers of our men harping upon the reports lately brought us, were muttering of the forces of the town, which our Captain perceiving told them that 'he had brought them to the mouth of the Treasure of the World: if they would want[1] it, they might henceforth blame nobody but themselves!'

And therefore as soon as the storm began to

[1] miss.

assuage of his fury (which is a long half-hour), willing to give his men no longer leisure to demur of those doubts, nor yet allow the enemy further respite to gather themselves together, he stepped forward commanding his brother, with John Oxenham and the company appointed them, to break the King's Treasure House; the rest to follow him to keep the strength of the Market Place, till they had dispatched the business for which they came.

But as he stepped forward his strength and sight and speech failed him, and he began to faint for want of blood, which, as then we perceived, had, in great quantity, issued upon the sand, out of a wound received in his leg in the first encounter, whereby though he felt some pain, yet (for that he perceived divers of the company, having already gotten many good things, to be very ready to take all occasion of winding themselves out of that conceited danger) would he not have it known to any, till this his fainting, against his will, bewrayed it; the blood having first filled the very prints which our footsteps made, to the great dismay of all our company, who thought it not credible that one man should be able to spare so much blood and live.

And therefore even they which were willing to have adventured most for so fair a booty would in no case hazard their Captain's life; but (having given him somewhat to drink wherewith he recovered himself, and having bound his scarf about his leg for the stopping of the blood) entreated him to be content to go with them aboard, there to have his wound searched and dressed, and then to return a-shore again if he thought good.

This, when they could not persuade him unto (as who knew it to be utterly impossible, at least very unlikely, that ever they should for that time return again, to recover the state in which they now were; and was of opinion, that it were more honourable for himself to jeopard his life for so great a benefit, than to leave off so high an enterprise unperformed) they joined altogether and with force mingled with fair entreaties, they bare him aboard his pinnace, and so abandoned a most rich spoil for the present, only to preserve their Captain's life: as being resolved of him, that while they enjoyed his presence, and had him to command them, they might recover wealth sufficient; but if once they lost him, they should hardly be able to recover home, no, not with that which they had gotten already.

Thus we embarked by break of the day, having beside our Captain, many of our men wounded, though none slain but one trumpeter.—*Sir Francis Drake Revived*, 1626.

RICHARD HAKLUYT

1553 (?)–1616

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S VOYAGE, 1577–1580

We continuing our course fell the 29th of November with an island called La Mocha, where we cast anchor; and our General, hoisting out our boat, went with ten of our company to shore, where we found people, whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their own safety and liberty, to flee from the main,

and to fortify themselves in this island. We being on land, the people came down to us to the water side with show of great courtesy, bringing to us potatoes, roots, and two very fat sheep; which our General received, and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there: but the next day repairing again to the shore, and sending two men a-land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to show no favour if they take them) laid violent hands on them, and, as we think, slew them.

Our General seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sail towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we met near to the shore an Indian in a *canoa*, who thinking us to have been Spaniards, came to us and told us, that at a place called Santiago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdom of Peru; for which good news our General gave him divers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparaiso.

When we came thither we found, indeed, the ship riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three negroes; who, thinking us to have been Spaniards, and their friends, welcomed us with a drum, and made ready a *botija* of wine of Chili to drink to us: but as soon as we were entered, one of our company called Thomas Moon began to lay about him, and struck one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, *Abaxo, perro!* that is in English, 'Go down, dog!' One of these Spaniards, seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed and blessed himself: but, to be short, we

stowed them under hatches, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt overboard into the sea, and swam ashore to the town of Santiago, to give them warning of our arrival.

They of the town, being not above nine households, presently fled away and abandoned the town. Our General manned his boat and the Spanish ship's boat, and went to the town; and, being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chapel, which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to Master Fletcher, his minister.

We found also in this town a warehouse stored with wine of Chili and many boards of cedar-wood; all which wine we brought away with us, and certain of the boards to burn for firewood: and so, being come aboard, we departed the haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego, a Greek born, whom our General carried with him as pilot to bring him into the haven of Lima.

When we were at sea our General rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25,000 *pesos* of very pure and fine gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to 37,000 ducats of Spanish money, and above. So, going on our course, we arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our General sent fourteen of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300 horsemen and 200 footmen, and slew one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboard in safety, and the Spaniards departed: we went on shore again and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down again

with a flag of truce; but we set sail, and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certain port called Tarapaca; where, being landed, we found by the sea-side a Spaniard lying asleep, who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish; we took the silver and left the man.

Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *llamas* or sheep of Peru, which are as big as asses; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver: so that, bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundredweight of silver.

Herehence we sailed to a place called Arica; and, being entered the port, we found there three small barks, which we rifled, and found in one of them fifty-seven wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 lb. weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bigness of a brick-bat. In all these three barks, we found not one person: for they, mistrusting no strangers, were all gone a-land to the town, which consisteth of about twenty houses; which we would have ransacked if our company had been better and more in number. But our General, contented with the spoil of the ships, left the town and put off again to sea, and set sail for Lima, and, by the way, met with a small bark, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linen cloth, whereof taking some quantity, he let her go.

To Lima we came the 13th day of February; and, being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships lying fast moored at an

anchor, having all their sails carried on shore; for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our General rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of reals of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth; and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship called the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards Payta, and that the same ship was laden with treasure: whereupon we stayed no longer here, but, cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore; and with all speed we followed the *Cacafuego* toward Payta, thinking there to have found her: but before we arrived there she was gone from thence towards Panama; whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a bark laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her 80 lb. weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold with goodly great emeralds set in it, which he took, and some of the cordage also for his own ship.

From hence we departed, still following the *Cacafuego*; and our General promised our company that whosoever could first descry her should have his chain of gold for his good news. It fortuned that John Drake, going up into the top, descried her about three of the clock, and about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and struck down her mizen; and, being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of reals of plate, fourscore pound

weight of gold, and six-and-twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150 leagues from Panama.

The pilot's name of this ship was Francisco; and amongst other plate that our General found in this ship he found two very fair gilt bowls of silver, which were the pilot's: to whom our General said, 'Señor Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I must needs have one of them'; which the pilot, because he could not otherwise choose, yielded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our General's ships.

When this pilot departed from us, his boy said thus unto our General; 'Captain, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ship shall be called the Cacafuego': which pretty speech of the pilot's boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after.

When our General had done what he would with this *Cacafuego*, he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the west; and not long after met with a ship laden with linen cloth and fine China dishes of white earth, and great store of China silks, of all which things we took as we listed.

The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman, from whom our General took a falcon of gold, with a great emerald in the breast thereof; and the pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco, the town whereof, as he told us, had but seventeen Spaniards in it. As soon as we were entered this haven, we landed, and went presently to the town and to the town-house; where we found a judge

sitting in judgement, being associate with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the town: both which judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a-shipboard, and caused the chief judge to write his letter to the town to command all the townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the town; and in one house we found a pot, of the quantity of a bushel, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moon, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the town; and, searching him, he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which he took, and so let him go.

At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal pilot which he took at the islands of Cape Verde out of a ship of St. Mary port, of Portugal: and having set them ashore we departed hence, and sailed to the island of Canno; where our General landed, and brought to shore his own ship, and discharged her, mended and graved[1] her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

And while we were here we espied a ship and set sail after her, and took her, and found in her two pilots and a Spanish governor going for the islands of the Philippinas: we searched the ship, and took some of her merchandises, and so let her go. Our General at this place and time, thinking himself, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our

[1] cleaned.

country and prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged; and supposing that her Majesty at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coast, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes; the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he, being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Straits in the South Sea; where continual storms reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved, therefore, to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and therehence to sail the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

Upon this resolution he began to think of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himself, where he now was, becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must be forced to take a Spanish course; namely, to sail somewhat northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 600 leagues at the least for a good wind; and thus much we sailed from the sixteenth of April till the third of June

The fifth day of June, being in 43 degrees towards the pole Arctic, we found the air so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the farther we went, the more the cold increased

upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so; finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same.

In this bay we anchored; and the people of the country, having their houses close by the water's side, showed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that we brought, but our General, according to his natural and accustomed humanity, courteously entreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness; whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our General were feathers, and cauls[1] of net-work.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle, clefts of wood set upon them, joining close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strewed on it; and lying about the house have the fire in the midst. The men go naked; the women take bulrushes, and kemb[2] them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.—*Principal Voyages of the English Nation.*

[1] netted caps. [2] dress, trim.

THE SECOND VOYAGE ATTEMPTED BY MASTER JOHN DAVIS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, 1586

THE seventh day of May I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the discovery of the North-west Passage, with a ship of an hundred and twenty tons named the *Mermaid*, a bark of sixty tons named the *Sunshine*, a bark of thirty-five tons named the *Moonlight*, and a pinnace of ten tons named the *North Star*.

And the fifteenth of June I discovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees, and in longitude from the meridian of London westward 47 degrees, mightily pestered with ice and snow, so that there was no hope of landing: the ice lay in some places ten leagues, in some twenty, and in some fifty leagues off the shore, so that we were constrained to bear into 57 degrees to double the same, and to recover a free sea, which through God's favourable mercy we at length obtained.

The twenty-ninth of June after many tempestuous storms we again discovered land, in longitude from the meridian of London 58 degrees 30 minutes, and in latitude 64, being east from us: into which course since it pleased God by contrary winds to force us, I thought it very necessary to bear in with it, and there to set up our pinnace, provided in the *Mermaid* to be our scout for this discovery, and so much the rather because the year before I had been in the same place, and found it very convenient for such a purpose, well stored with float wood, and possessed by a people of tractable conversation: so that the twenty-

ninth of this month we arrived within the isles which lay before this land, lying north-north-west, and south-south-east, we know not how far. This land is very high and mountainous, having before it on the west side a mighty company of isles full of fair sounds, and harbours. This land was very little troubled with snow, and the sea altogether void of ice.

The ships being within the sounds we sent our boats to search for shoal water, where we might anchor, which in this place is very hard to find: and as the boat went sounding and searching, the people of the country having espied them, came in their canoes towards them with many shouts and cries: but after they had espied in the boat some of our company that were the year before here with us, they presently rowed to the boat, and took hold on the oar, and hung about the boat with such comfortable joy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boats to our ships, making signs that they knew all those that the year before had been with them. After I perceived their joy and small fear of us, myself with the merchants and others of the company went ashore, bearing with me twenty knives: I had no sooner landed, but they leapt out of their canoes and came running to me and the rest, and embraced us with many signs of hearty welcome: at this present there were eighteen of them, and to each of them I gave a knife: they offered skins to me for reward, but I made signs that they were not sold, but given them of courtesy: and so dismissed them for that time, with signs that they should return again after certain hours.

The next day with all possible speed the pinnace was landed upon an isle there to be finished to serve our purpose for the discovery, which isle was so convenient for that purpose, as that we were very well able to defend ourselves against many enemies. During the time that the pinnace was there setting up, the people came continually unto us sometime an hundred canoes at a time, sometime forty, fifty, more and less, as occasion served. They brought with them seal skins, stag skins, white hares, seal fish, salmon peal,[1] small cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and birds such as the country did yield.

Myself still desirous to have a further search of this place, sent one of the ship boats to one part of the land, and myself went to another part to search for the habitation of this people, with straight commandment that there should be no injury offered to any of the people, neither any gun shot.

The boats that went from me found the tents of the people made with seal skins set up upon timber, wherein they found great store of dried caplin, being a little fish no bigger than a pilchard: they found bags of train-oil, many little images cut in wood, seal skins in tan-tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

They also found ten miles within the snowy mountains a plain champain[2] country, with earth and grass, such as our moory and waste grounds of England are: they went up into a river (which in the narrowest place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue they knew not how far: but I with my company took another river, which although at the first it offered a large

[1] small, or young, salmon. [2] open.

inlet, yet it proved but a deep bay, the end whereof in four hours I attained, and there leaving the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or four miles into the country, but found nothing, nor saw anything, save only gripes,[1] ravens, and small birds, as larks and linnets.

The third of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty canoes attending upon me into another sound where the people by signs willed me to go, hoping to find their habitation: at length they made signs that I should go into a warm place to sleep, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the top of an high hill to see into the country, but perceiving my labour vain, I returned again to my boat, the people still following me and my company, very diligent to attend us, and to help us up the rocks, and likewise down: at length I was desirous to have our men leap with them, which was done, but our men did overleap them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to have skill in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of July we launched our pinnace, and had forty of the people to help us, which they did very willingly: at this time our men again wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skilful. This fourth of July the master of the *Mermaid* went to certain islands to store himself with wood, where he found a grave with divers buried in it, only covered with seal skins, having a cross laid over them. The people are of good stature, well in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and

[1] vultures.

small eyes, wide mouths, the most part unbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custom is as often as they go from us, still at their return to make a new truce, in this sort, holding his hand up to the sun with a loud voice he crieth Ylyaoute, and striketh his breast with like signs; being promised safety, he giveth credit. These people are much given to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deer's hair, or the hair of an elan. They are idolaters and have images great store, which they wear about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and have many kinds of enchantments, which they often used, but to small purpose, thanks be to God.

Being among them at shore the fourth of July, one of them making a long oration, began to kindle a fire in this manner: he took a piece of a board wherein was a hole half through: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like unto a bed-staff, wetting the end thereof in train, and in fashion of a turner with a piece of leather, by his violent motion doth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turfs he made a fire, into which with many words and strange gestures, he put divers things, which we supposed to be a sacrifice: myself and divers of my company standing by, they were desirous to have me go into the smoke. I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, which they by no means would do. I then took one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, and to spurn it into the sea, which was done to show them that we did contemn their sorcery. These people are very simple in all their conversation, but marvellous thievish, especially

for iron, which they have in great account. They began through our lenity to show their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the *Moonlight's* boat from her stern, they cut our cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look unto it, they stole our oars, a caliver,[1] a boar spear, a sword, with divers other things, whereat the company and masters being grieved, for our better security, desired me to dissolve this new friendship, and to leave the company of these thievish miscreants: whereupon there was a caliver shot among them, and immediately upon the same a falcon,[2] which strange noise did sore amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding, their simplicity is such, that within ten hours after they came again to us to entreat peace; which being promised, we again fell into a great league. They brought us seal skins, and salmon peal, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbear stealing: which when I perceived, it did but minister unto me an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicity, and I willed that in no case they should be any more hardly used, but that our own company should be the more vigilant to keep their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their evils. They eat all their meat raw, they live most upon fish, they drink salt water, and eat grass and ice with delight: they are never out of the water, but live in the nature of fishes, save only when dead sleep taketh them, and then under a warm rock laying his boat upon the land, he lieth down to sleep. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them have bow and arrows

[1] light musket. [2] light cannon.

and slings. They make nets to take their fish of the fin of a whale: they do all their things very artfully: and it should seem that these simple thievish islanders have war with those of the main, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they received upon the mainland, as by signs they gave us to understand. We had among them copper ore, black copper, and red copper: they pronounce their language very hollow, and deep in the throat. . . .

The seventh of July being very desirous to search the habitation of this country, I went myself with our new pinnace into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firm continent, and passing up a very large river, a great flaw of wind took me, whereby we were constrained to seek succour for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountain, hoping from thence to see into the country: but the mountains were so many and so mighty as that my purpose prevailed not: whereupon I again returned to my pinnace, and willing divers of my company to gather mussels for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, myself having espied a very strange sight, especially to me that never before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlwind taking up the water in very great quantity, furiously mounting it into the air, which whirlwind was not for a puff or blast, but continual, for the space of three hours, with very little intermission, which since it was in the course that I should pass, we were constrained that night to take up our lodging under the rocks.

The next morning the storm being broken up,

we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great river directly into the body of the land, and in brief, found it to be no firm land, but huge, waste, and desert isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing between sea and sea. Whereupon we returned towards our ships, and landing to stop a flood, we found the burial of these miscreants; we found of their fish in bags, plaices, and caplin dried, of which we took only one bag and departed. The ninth of this month we came to our ships, where we found the people desirous in their fashion of friendship and barter: our mariners complained heavily against the people, and said that my lenity and friendly using of them gave them stomach to mischief: 'for they have stolen an anchor from us, they have cut our cable very dangerously, they have cut our boats from our stern, and now since your departure, with slings they spare us not with stones of half a pound weight: and will you still endure these injuries? It is a shame to bear them.' I desired them to be content and said, I doubted not but all should be well. The tenth of this month I went to the shore, the people following me in their canoes: I tolled them on shore, and used them with much courtesy, and then departed aboard, they following me and my company. I gave some of them bracelets, and caused seven or eight of them to come aboard, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the top of the ship: and thus courteously using them, I let them depart: the sun was no sooner down, but they began to practise their devilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the *Moonlight*, and struck one of her men then boat-

swain, that he overthrew withal: whereat being moved, I changed my courtesy, and grew to hatred; myself in my own boat well manned with shot, and the bark's boat likewise pursued them, and gave them divers shot, but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so small content we returned.

The eleventh of this month there came five of them to make a new truce: the master of the Admiral came to me to show me of their coming, and desired to have them taken and kept as prisoners until we had his anchor again: but when he saw that the chief ringleader and master of mischief was one of the five, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Ylyaoute, and striking his breast offered a pair of gloves to sell, the master offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to us, the one was not touched, but the other was soon captive among us: then we pointed to him and his fellows for our anchor, which being had, we made signs that he should be set at liberty within one hour after he came aboard; the wind came fair, whereupon we weighed and set sail, and so brought the fellow with us: one of his fellows still following our ship close aboard, talked with him and made a kind of lamentation, we still using him well with Ylyaoute, which was the common course of courtesy. At length this fellow aboard us spake four or five words unto the other and clapped his two hands upon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heavy cheer. We judged the covering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body down, signified his death. At length he

became a pleasant companion among us. I gave him a suit of frieze after the English fashion, because I saw he could not endure the cold, of which he was very joyful, he trimmed up his darts, and all his fishing tools, and would make oakum, and set his hand to a rope's end upon occasion. He lived with the dry caplin that I took when I was searching in the pinnace, and did eat dry Newland fish.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, only one young man excepted, who died at sea the fourteenth of this month, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise given to God by service, was cast overboard.

The seventeenth of this month being in the latitude of 63 degrees 8 minutes, we fell upon a most mighty and strange quantity of ice in one entire mass, so big as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withal so very high in form of a land, with bays and capes and like high cliff land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therefore sent our pinnace off to discover it: but at her return we were certainly informed that it was only ice, which bred great admiration to us all considering the huge quantity thereof, incredible to be reported in truth as it was, and therefore I omit to speak any further thereof. This only I think, that the like before was never seen: and in this place we had very stickle and strong currents.

We coasted this mighty mass of ice until the thirtieth of July, finding it a mighty bar to our purpose: the air in this time was so contagious and the sea so pestered with ice, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the twenty-

fourth of July all our shrouds, ropes and sails were so frozen, and compassed with ice, only by a gross fog, as seemed to me more than strange, since the last year I found this sea free and navigable, without impediments.

Our men through this extremity began to grow sick and feeble, and withal hopeless of good success: whereupon very orderly, with good discretion they entreated me to regard the state of this business, and withal advised me that in conscience I ought to regard the safety of mine own life with the preservation of theirs, and that I should not through my overboldness leave their widows and fatherless children to give me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly move me to regard their estates: yet considering the excellency of the business if it might be attained, the great hope of certainty by the last year's discovery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practice, I thought it would grow to my great disgrace, if this action by my negligence should grow into discredit: whereupon seeking help from God, the fountain of all mercies, it pleased his divine majesty to move my heart to prosecute that which I hope shall be to his glory, and to the contentation of every Christian mind. Whereupon falling into consideration that the *Mermaid*, albeit a very strong and sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burthen was not so convenient and nimble as a smaller bark, especially in such desperate hazards: further having in account her great charge to the adventurers being at 100 livres the month, and that in doubtful service: all the premises considered with divers other things, I determined to furnish the *Moonlight* with

revictualling and sufficient men, and to proceed in this action as God should direct me. Whereupon I altered our course from the ice, and bare east-south-east to recover the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with favourable wind it pleased God that the first of August we discovered the land in latitude 66 degrees 33 minutes and in longitude from the meridian of London 70 degrees void of trouble without snow or ice.

The second of August we harboured ourselves in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graved the *Moonlight*, and revictualled her: we searched this country with our pinnace while the bark was trimming, which William Eston did: he found all this land to be only islands, with a sea on the east, a sea on the west, and a sea on the north. In this place we found it very hot, and we were very much troubled with a fly which is called mosquito, for they did sting grievously. The people of this place at our first coming in caught a seal, and with bladders fast tied to him sent him unto us with the flood, so as he came right with our ships, which we took as a friendly present from them.

The fifth of August I went with the two masters and others to the top of a hill, and by the way William Eston espied three canoes lying under a rock, and went unto them: there were in them skins, darts, with divers superstitious toys, whereof we diminished nothing, but left upon every boat a silk point, a bullet of lead, and a pin. The next day being the sixth of August, the people came unto us without fear, and did barter with us for skins, as the other people did:

they differ not from the other, neither in their canoes nor apparel, yet is their pronunciation more plain than the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our savage aboard us kept himself close, and made show that he would fain have another companion. Thus being provided, I departed from this land the twelfth of August at six of the clock in the morning, where I left the *Mermaid* at an anchor: the fourteenth sailing west about fifty leagues, we discovered land, being in latitude 66 degrees 19 minutes: this land is seventy leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a-clock at night till three a-clock in the morning, we anchored by an island of ice, twelve leagues off the shore, being moored to the ice.

The fifteenth day at three a-clock in the morning we departed from this land to the south, and the eighteenth of August we discovered land north-west from us in the morning, being a very fair promontory, in latitude 65 degrees, having no land on the south. Here we had great hope of a through passage.

This day at three a-clock in the afternoon we again discovered land south-west and by south from us, where at night we were becalmed. The nineteenth of this month at noon, by observation, we were in 64 degrees 20 minutes. From the eighteenth day at noon unto the nineteenth at noon, by precise ordinary care, we had sailed fifteen leagues south and by west, yet by art and more exact observation, we found our course to be south-west, so that we plainly perceived a great current striking to the west.

This land is nothing in sight but isles, which

increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at six a-clock in the afternoon, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foul weather, and much wind, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night five leagues off the shore: in the morning, being the twentieth of August, the fog and storm breaking up, we bare in with the land, and at nine a-clock in the morning we anchored in a very fair and safe road and locked for all weathers. At ten of the clock I went on shore to the top of a very high hill, where I perceived that this land was islands: at four of the clock in the afternoon we weighed anchor, having a fair north-north-east wind, with very fair weather; at six of the clock we were clear without the land, and so shaped our course to the south, to discover the coast, whereby the passage may be through God's mercy found.

We coasted this land till the eight-and-twentieth of August, finding it still to continue towards the south, from the latitude of 67 to 57 degrees: we found marvellous great store of birds, gulls and mews, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calm weather, we lay one glass upon the lee, to prove for fish, in which space we caught 100 of cod, although we were but badly provided for fishing, not being our purpose. This eight-and-twentieth having great distrust of the weather, we arrived in a very fair harbour in the latitude of 56 degrees, and sailed ten leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very fair woods on both sides: in this place we continued until the first of September, in which time we had two very great storms. I landed, and went six miles by guess into the country, and found that the woods were fir,

pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here we saw a black bear: this place yieldeth great store of birds, as pheasant, partridge, Barbary hens or the like, wild geese, ducks, blackbirds, jays, thrushes, with other kinds of small birds. Of the partridge and pheasant we killed great store with bow and arrows: in this place at the harbour mouth we found great store of cod.

The first of September at ten a-clock we set sail, and coasted the shore with very fair weather. The third day being calm, at noon we struck sail, and let fall a cadge anchor, to prove whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54 degrees 30 minutes, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hook was no sooner overboard, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and the best-fed fish that ever I saw, and divers fishermen that were with me said that they never saw a more sauvle [1] or better skull [2] of fish in their lives: yet had they seen great abundance.

The fourth of September at five a-clock in the afternoon we anchored in a very good road among great store of isles, the country low land, pleasant and very full of fair woods. To the north of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mighty great sea passing between two lands west. The south land to our judgement being nothing but isles, we greatly desired to go into this sea, but the wind was directly against us. We anchored in four fathom fine sand. In this place is fowl and fish mighty store.

The sixth of September having a fair north-north-west wind, having trimmed our bark we purposed to depart, and sent five of our sailors,

[1] ? satisfying. [2] large basket to hold fish, *hence* take.

young men, ashore to an island, to fetch certain fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it all night covered upon the isle: the brutish people of this country lay secretly lurking in the wood, and upon the sudden assaulted our men: which when we perceived, we presently let slip our cables upon the hawse, and under our foresail bore into the shore, and with all expedition discharged a double musket upon them twice, at the noise whereof they fled: notwithstanding to our very great grief, two of our men were slain with their arrows, and two grievously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, only one escaped by swimming, with an arrow shot through his arm. These wicked miscreants never offered parley or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury.

This present evening it pleased God further to increase our sorrows with a mighty tempestuous storm, the wind being north-north-east, which lasted unto the tenth of this month very extreme. We unrigged our ship, and purposed to cut down our masts, the cable of our sheet-anchor broke, so that we only expected to be driven on shore among these cannibals for their prey. Yet in this deep distress the mighty mercy of God, when hope was past, gave us succour, and sent us a fair lee, so as we recovered our anchor again, and new moored our ship: where we saw that God manifestly delivered us: for the strains of one of our cables were broken, and we only rode by an old junk. Thus being freshly moored a new storm arose, the wind being west-north-west, very forcible, which lasted unto the tenth day at night.

The eleventh day with a fair west-north-west wind we departed with trust in God's mercy,

shaping our course for England, and arrived in the west country in the beginning of October.—*Principal Voyages of the English Nation.*

JOHN FLORIO

1553 (?)–1625

OF THE USE OF APPAREL

WHATSOEVER I aim at, I must needs force some of custom's contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was devising in this chill-cold season whether the fashion of these late discovered nations to go naked be a custom forced by the hot temperature of the air, as we say of the Indians and Moors, or whether it be an original manner of mankind. Men of understanding, forasmuch as whatsoever is contained under heaven (as saith the Holy Writ) is subject to the same laws, are wont in suchlike considerations, where natural laws are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the general policy of the world, where nothing that is counterfeit can be admitted. Now, all things being exactly furnished else-whence with all necessaries to maintain this being, it is not to be imagined that we alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one as cannot be maintained without foreign help. My opinion is, that even as all plants, trees, living creatures, and whatsoever hath life, is naturally seen furnished with sufficient furniture to defend itself from the injury of all weathers :

Proptereaque fere res omnes, aut corio sunt,
Aut seta, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice tectae.[1]

[1] Luc. l. iv. 932.

Therefore all things almost we cover'd mark,
With hide, or hair, or shells, or brawn, or bark.

Even so were we. But as those who by an artificial light extinguish the brightness of the day, we have quenched our proper means by such as we have borrowed. And we may easily discern that only custom makes that seem impossible unto us which is not so: for of those nations that have no knowledge of clothes, some are found situated under the same heaven, and climate or parallel that we are in, and more cold and sharper than ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of us are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and ears; and our country swains (as our forefathers wont) most of them at this day go bare-breasted down to the navel. Had we been born needing petticoats and breeches, there is no doubt but Nature would have armed that which she hath left to the battery of seasons and fury of weathers with some thicker skin or hide, as she hath done our fingers' ends and the soles of our feet. Why seems this hard to be believed? Between my fashion of apparel and that of one of my country clowns, I find much more difference between him and me than between his fashion and that of a man who is clothed but with his bare skin. How many men (especially in Turkey) go ever naked for devotion's sake? A certain man demanded of one of our loitering rogues, whom in the deep of frosty winter he saw wandering up and down with nothing but his shirt about him, and yet as blithe and lusty as another that keeps himself muffled and wrapped in warm furs up to the ears, how he could have patience to go so. 'And have not you, good Sir' (answered he), 'your face all bare?

Imagine I am all face.' The Italians report (as far as I remember) of the Duke of Florence his fool, who when his Lord asked him how, being so ill-clad, he could endure the cold, which he hardly was able to do himself; to whom the fool replied: 'Master, use but my receipt, and put all the clothes you have upon you, as I do all mine; you shall feel no more cold than I do.' King Massinissa, even in his oldest days, were it never so cold, so frosty, so stormy, or sharp weather, could never be induced to put something on his head, but went always bareheaded. The like is reported of the Emperor Severus. In the battles that passed between the Egyptians and the Persians, Herodotus saith, that both himself and divers others took special notice that of such as lay slain on the ground the Egyptians' skulls were without comparison much harder than the Persians: by reason that these go ever with their heads covered with coifs and turbans, and those from their infancy ever shaven and bareheaded. And King Agesilaus, even in his decrepit age, was ever wont to wear his clothes both winter and summer alike. Suetonius affirmeth that Caesar did ever march foremost before his troops, and most commonly bareheaded, and on foot, whether the sun shone or it rained. The like is reported of Hannibal,

—— tum vertice nudo,
Excipere insanos imbres, cœlique ruinam.[1]
Bare-headed then he did endure,
Heaven's ruin and mad-raging shower.

A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but lately returned thence, writeth, that in the kingdom of Pegu, both men and women, having all other parts clad, go ever bare-footed,

[1] Syl. Ital. 250.

yea, and on horseback also. And Plato for the better health and preservation of the body doth earnestly persuade that no man should ever give the feet and the head other cover than Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chose for their king, next to ours, who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest princes of our age, doth never wear gloves, nor what weather soever it be, winter or summer, other bonnet abroad than in the warm house. As I cannot endure to go unbuttoned or untrussed, so the husbandmen neighbouring about me would be and feel themselves as fettered or hand-bound with going so. Varro is of opinion that when we were appointed to stand bare-headed before the gods or in presence of the magistrates, it was rather done for our health, and to enure and arm us against injuries of the weather, than in respect of reverence. And since we are speaking of cold, and are Frenchmen, accustomed so strangely to array ourselves in parti-coloured suits (not I, because I seldom wear any other than black or white, in imitation of my father), let us add this one thing more, which Captain Martin du Bellay relateth in the voyage of Luxemburg, where he saith to have seen so hard frosts, that their munition-wines were fain to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared unto the soldiers by weight, which they carried away in baskets; and Ovid,

Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testae
Vina, nec hausta meri sed data frusta bibunt.[1]

Bare wines, still keeping form of cask, stand fast,
Not gulps, but gobbets of their wine they taste.

[1] Ovid. *Trist.* l. iii. El. x. 23.

The frosts are so hard and sharp in the emboguing of the Meotis fens, that in the very place where Mithridates' lieutenant had delivered a battle to his enemies, on hard ground and dry-footed, and there defeated them, the next summer he there obtained another sea-battle against them. The Romans suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they had with the Carthaginians near unto Placentia, for so much as they went to their charge with their blood congealed and limbs benumbed, through extreme cold: whereas Hannibal had caused many fires to be made throughout his camp, to warm his soldiers by, and a quantity of oil to be distributed amongst them, that therewith anointing themselves, they might make their sinews more supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the bitter blasts of cold wind which then blew, and nipping piercing of the air. The Grecians' retreat from Babylon into their country is renowned by reason of the many difficulties and encumbrances they encountered withal, and were to surmount: whereof this was one, that in the mountains of Armenia, being surprised and encircled with so horrible and great quantity of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the country and the ways: wherewith they were so straitly beset that they continued a day and a night without eating or drinking; and most of their horses and cattle died; of their men a great number also deceased; many with the glittering and whiteness of the snow were stricken blind; divers through the extremity were lamed, and their limbs shrunken up; many stark stiff and frozen with cold, although their senses were yet whole. Alexander saw a nation where in winter they

bury their fruit-bearing trees under the ground, to defend them from the frost: a thing also used amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the subject of apparel, the King of Mexico was wont to change and shift his clothes four times a day, and never wore them again, employing his leavings and cast-suits for his continual liberalities and rewards; as also neither pot nor dish, nor any implement of his kitchen or table were twice brought before him.—*Montaigne's Essays, translated.*

TO-MORROW IS A NEW DAY

I DO with some reason, as me seemeth, give prick and praise unto Jacques Amyot above all our French writers, not only for his natural purity, and pure elegancy of the tongue, wherein he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancy of so long and toilsome a labour, nor for the unsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successfully-happy been able to explain an author so close and thorny, and unfold a writer so mysterious and entangled (for, let any man tell me what he list, I have no skill of the Greek, but I see throughout all his translation a sense so closely jointed, and so pithily continued, that either he hath assuredly understood and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the author, or having through a long and continual [conversation], lively planted in his mind a general idea of that of Plutarch, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belie him, or misseem him), but above all, I con[1] him thanks that he hath had the hap to choose, and knowledge to cull out so worthy

[1] offer

a work, and a book so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so invaluable a present unto his country. We that are in the number of the ignorant had been utterly confounded, had not his book raised us from out the dust of ignorance: God-a-mercy his endeavours we dare [now] both speak and write: even ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of Arts: it is our breviary. If so good a man chance to live, I bequeath Xenophon unto him, to do as much. It is an easier piece of work, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disentangle himself from hard passages, that notwithstanding his style is more close and nearer itself when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place where Plutarch speaketh of himself, that Rusticus being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperor, which he temporized to open until he had made an end: wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravity of the man. Verily, being on the instance of curiosity and on the greedy and insatiate passion of news, which with such indiscreet impatience and impatient indiscretion, induceth us to neglect all things for to entertain a new-come guest, and forget all respect and countenance wheresoever we be, suddenly to break up such letters as are brought us; he had reason to commend the gravity of Rusticus: to which he might also have added the commendation of his civility and courtesy, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation: but I make a question whether he might be commended for his wisdom:

for receiving unexpected letters, and especially from an Emperor, it might very well have fortuned that this deferring to read them might have caused some notable inconvenience. Recklessness is the vice contrary unto curiosity, towards which I am naturally inclined, and wherein I have seen many men so extremely plunged, that three or four days after the receiving of letters which have been sent them, they have been found in their pockets yet unopened. I never opened any, not only of such as had been committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience standing near some great person if mine eyes chance unawares to steal some knowledge of any letters of importance that he readeth. Never was man less inquisitive, or pried less into other men's affairs than I. In our fathers' time the Lord of Boutières was like to have lost Turin, forsomuch as being one night at supper in very good company he deferred the reading of an advertisement which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and complotted against that city where he commanded. And Plutarch himself hath taught me that Julius Caesar had escaped death, if going to the Senate house that day wherein he was murdered by the conspirators he had read a memorial which was presented unto him. Who likewise reporteth the story of Archias, the Tyrant of Thebes, how the night foregoing the execution of the enterprise that Pelopidas had complotted to kill him, thereby to set his country at liberty, another Archias of Athens writ him a letter wherein he particularly related unto him all that was conspired and complotted against him; which

letter being delivered him whilst he sat at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word: 'To-morrow is a new day,' which afterward was turned to a proverb in Greece. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not unmannerly to break company, like unto Rusticus, or not to discontinue some other affair of importance, remit and defer to understand such news as are brought him; but for his own private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having public charge, if he regard his dinner so much that he will not break it off, or his sleep that he will not interrupt it: to do it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consular place in Rome, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accessible for such as might casually come in, to entertain him that should be there placed. Witness, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affairs and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in human actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune do not sway, and keep her right in them.—*Montaigne's Essays, translated.*

AGAINST IDLENESS, OR DOING NOTHING

The Emperor Vespasian, lying sick of the disease whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to understand the state of the empire; and lying in his bed, incessantly dispatched many affairs of great consequence; and his physicians chiding him, as of a thing hurtful to his health, he answered

that an Emperor should die standing upright. Lo here a notable saying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great prince. Adrian the Emperor used the same afterward to like purpose. And kings ought often to be put in mind of it, to make them feel that this great charge which is given them of the commandment over so many men is no idle charge: and that there is nothing may so justly distaste a subject from putting himself in pain and danger for the service of his Prince than there-whilst to see him given to laziness, to base and vain occupations, and to have care of his conservation, seeing him so careless of ours. If any shall go about to maintain that it is better for a Prince to manage his wars by others than by himself, fortune will store him with sufficient examples of those whose lieutenants have achieved great enterprises, and also of some whose presence would have been more hurtful than profitable. But no virtuous and courageous Prince will endure to be entertained with so shameful instructions. Under colour of preserving his head (as the statue of a saint) for the good fortune of his estate, they degrade him of his office, which is altogether in military actions, and declare him incapable of it. I know one would rather choose to be beaten than sleep whilst others fight for him; and who without jealousy never saw his men perform any notable act in his absence. And Selim the first had reason to say that he thought victories gotten in the master's absence not to be complete. So much more willingly would he have said that such a master ought to blush for shame, who only by his name should pretend any share in it, having thereunto employed nothing

but his thought and verbal direction. Nor that since in such a business the advices and commandments which bring honour are only those given in the field and even in the action. No pilot exerciseth his office standing still. The Princes of Ottoman's race (the chiefest race in the world in warlike fortune) have earnestly embraced this opinion. And Bajazeth the second, with his son, who, amusing themselves about sciences and other private home matters, neglected the same, gave diverse prejudicial blows unto their Empire. And Amurath the third of that name, who now reigneth, following their example, beginneth very well to feel their fortunes. Was it not the King of England, Edward the Third, who spake these words of our King Charles the Fifth: 'There was never King that less armed himself; and yet was never King that gave me so much to do, and put me to so many plunges.' He had reason to think it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather than of reason. And let such as will number the Kings of Castile and Portugal amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seek for some other adherent than myself; forsomuch as twelve hundred leagues from their idle residence they have made themselves masters of both Indias, only by the conduct and direction of their factors, of whom it would be known whether they durst but go and enjoy them in person. The Emperor Julian said moreover that a philosopher and gallant-minded man ought not so much as breathe; that is to say, not to give corporal necessities, but what may not be refused them; ever holding both mind and body busied about notable, great and virtuous matters. He was

ashamed any man should see him spit or sweat before people (which is also said of the Lacedemonian youths, and Xenophon reporteth it of the Persian), forsomuch as he thought that continual travel, exercise, and sobriety should have concocted and dried up all such superfluities. What Seneca saith shall not impertinently be alleged here; that the ancient Romans kept their youth upright, and taught their children nothing that was to be learned sitting. It is a generous desire to endeavour to die both profitable and manlike: but the effect consisteth not so much in our good resolution as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have missed both the one and other: hurts or imprisonment crossing their design and yielding them a forced kind of life. There are diseases which vanquish our desires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seconded the vanity of the Roman Legions, who by oath bound themselves either to die or conquer. *Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex acie: Si fallo, Iovem patrem Gradiuumque Martem aliosque iratos invoco Deos:* [1] 'I will, O Marcus Fabius, return conqueror from the army. If in this I deceive you, I wish both great Jupiter and Mars, and the other Gods offended with me.' The Portugals report that in certain places of their Indian conquests they found some soldiers who with horrible execrations had damned themselves never to enter into any composition, but either they would be killed or remain victorious; and in sign of their vow wore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obstinate ourselves long enough. It seemeth that blows shun

[1] Liv. *Dec.* i. l. ii.

them who over-joyfully present themselves unto them; and unwillingly reach those that over-willingly go to meet them and corrupt their end. Some unable to lose his life by his adversaries' force, having essayed all possible means, hath been enforced to accomplish his resolution, either to bear away the honour, or not to carry away his life, and even in the fury of the fight to put himself to death. There are sundry examples of it, but note this one. Philistus, chief general of young Dionysius' navy against the Syracusans, presented them the battle, which was very sharply withstood. their forces being alike; wherein by reason of his prowess he had the better in the beginning. But the Syracusans flocking thick and threefold about his galley to grapple and board him, having performed many worthy exploits with his own person to rid himself from them, despairing of all escape, with his own hand deprived himself of that life which so lavishly and in vain he had abandoned to his enemies' hands. Moly Moluch, King of Fez, who not long since obtained that famous victory against Sebastian, King of Portugal, a notable victory, by reason of the death of three Kings, and transmission of so great a kingdom to the crown of Castile, chanced to be grievously sick at what time the Portugals with armed hand entered his dominions, and afterward, though he foresaw it approaching nearer unto death, impaired worse and worse. Never did man more stoutly or more vigorously make use of an undaunted courage than he. He found himself very weak to endure the ceremonious pomp which the Kings of that country, at their entrance into the camp are presented withal,

which according to their fashion is full of all magnificence and state, and charged with all manner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet resigned he nothing but the office of the chief Captain. Himself most gloriously executed and most exactly performed all other necessary duties and profitable offices: holding his body laid along his couch, but his mind upright and courage constant, even to his last gasp, and in some sort after. He might have undermined his enemies, who were fond-hardily advanced in his dominions, and was exceedingly grieved that for want of a little longer life and a substitute to manage the war and affairs of so troubled a state, he was enforced to seek a bloody and hazardous battle, having another pure and undoubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his sickness so miraculously that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his sea-fleet and maritime places he held along the coast of Afric, even until the last day of his life, which by design he reserved and employed for so great and renowned a fight.

He ranged his battle in a round, on every side besieging the Portugals' army, which bending round and coming to close, did not only hinder them in the conflict (which through the valour of that young assailant King was very furious), since they were to turn their faces on all sides, but also hindered them from running away after the rout. And finding all issues seized, and all passages closed, they were constrained to turn upon themselves: *Coacervanturque non solum caede, sed etiam fuga*: 'They fall on heaps, not only by slaughter but by flight': and so pell-mell

to heap one on another's neck, preparing a most murderous and complete victory to the conquerors. When he was even dying he caused himself to be carried and haled wherever need called for him; and passing along the files he exhorted the captains and animated the soldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the fight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he would needs, with his naked sword in hand, get on horseback striving by all possible means to enter the throng, his men holding him, some by the bridle, some by the gown, and some by the stirrups. This toil and straining of himself made an end of that little remainder of his life; then was he laid on his bed: but coming to himself again, starting up as out of a swoon, each other faculty failing him, he gave them warning to conceal his death (which was the necessariest commandment he could give his servants, lest the soldiers, hearing of his death, might fall into despair) and so yielded the ghost, holding his forefingers upon his mouth, an ordinary signal to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so near death? Who ever died so upright and undaunted? The extremest degree, and most natural, courageously to manage death, is to see or front the same, not only without amazement, but without care; the course of life continuing free even in death. As Cato, who amused himself to study and sleep, having a violent and bloody death present in his heart, and as it were holding it in his hand.—*Montaigne's Essays, translated.*

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

1554–1586

THE DEFENCE OF POESY

Now, therein, of all sciences, is our Poet the monarch. For he doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way, as will entice any man to enter into it: nay, he doth, as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first, give you a cluster of grapes; that, full of that taste, you may long to pass further. He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margin with interpretations, and load the memory with doubtfulness; but he cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well enchanting skill of music; and with a tale forsooth, he cometh unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner; and, pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste: which, if one should begin to tell them the nature of aloes or rhubarb they should receive, would sooner take their physic at their ears than at their mouth. So is it in men (most of whom are childish in the best things, till they be cradled in their graves); glad they will be to hear the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, and Aeneas; and hearing them, must needs hear the right description of wisdom, valour, and justice; which, if they had been barely (that is

to say philosophically) set out, they would swear they be brought to school again. Truly, I have known men, that even with reading Amadis de Gaule, which, God knoweth, wanteth much of a perfect Poesy, have found their hearts moved to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage. . . .

By these therefore examples and reasons, I think it may be manifest that the Poet, with that same hand of delight, doth draw the mind more effectually than any other art doth. And so a conclusion not unfitly ensues: *that as virtue is the most excellent resting-place for all worldly learning to make his end of, so Poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work, is the most excellent workman.—The Defence of Poesy.*

A STAG HUNT

Then went they together abroad, the good Kalender entertaining them with pleasant discoursing—how well he loved the sport of hunting when he was a young man, how much in the comparison thereof he disdained all chamber delights, that the sun (how great a journey soever he had to make) could never prevent him with earliness, nor the moon with her sober countenance dissuade him from watching till midnight for the deer's feeding. O, said he, you will never live to my age, without you keep yourselves in breath with exercise, and in heart with joyfulness; too much thinking doth consume the spirits; and oft it falls out that while one thinks too much of his doing, he leaves to do the effect of his thinking.

Then spared he not to remember how much Arcadia was changed since his youth; activity and good fellowship being nothing in the price it was then held in, but according to the nature of the old-growing world still worse and worse. Then would he tell them stories of such gallants as he had known; and so with pleasant company beguiled the time's haste, and shortened the way's length, till they came to the side of the wood, where the hounds were in couples, staying their coming, but with a whining accent craving liberty; many of them in colour and marks so resembling that it showed they were of one kind. The huntsmen handsomely attired in their green liveries, as though they were children of summer, with staves in their hands to beat the guiltless earth, when the hounds were at a fault, and with horns about their necks to sound an alarm upon a silly fugitive. The hounds were straight uncoupled, and ere long the stag thought it better to trust the nimbleness of his feet than to the slender fortification of his lodging; but even his feet betrayed him; for, howsoever they went, they themselves uttered themselves to the scent of their enemies; who, one taking it of another and sometimes believing the wind's advertisement, sometimes the view of their faithful counsellors the huntsmen, with open mouths then denounced war, when the war was already begun. Their cry being composed of so well sorted mouths that any man would perceive therein some kind of proportion, but the skilful woodmen did find a music. Then delight and variety of opinion drew the horsemen sundry ways, yet cheering their hounds with voice and horn, kept still as it

were together. The wood seemed to conspire with them against his own citizens, dispersing their noise through all his quarters; and even the nymph Echo left to bewail the loss of Narcissus, and became a hunter. But the stag was in the end so hotly pursued, that, leaving his flight, he was driven to make courage of despair; and so turning his head, made the hounds with change of speech to testify that he was at bay: as if from hot pursuit of their enemy, they were suddenly come to a parley.—*Arcadia.*

RICHARD HOOKER

1554 (?)–1600

THE CAUSE OF WRITING HIS DISCOURSE CONCERNING LAWS

I. He that goeth about to persuade a multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regimen[1] is subject, but the secret lets[2] and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgement to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of state are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry singular freedom of mind; under this fair and plausible colour whatsoever they utter passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their speech is supplied by the aptness of

[1] government. [2] hindrances.

men's minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not only to strive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favour of the present state, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such exceptions as minds so averted beforehand usually take against that which they are loath should be poured into them.

2. Albeit therefore much of that we are to speak in this present cause may seem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate; (for many talk of the truth, which never sounded the depth from whence it springeth, and therefore when they are led thereunto they are soon weary, as men drawn from those beaten paths wherewith they have been inured); yet this may not so far prevail as to cut off that which the matter itself requireth, howsoever the nice humour of some be therewith pleased or no. They unto whom we shall seem tedious are in no wise injured by us, because it is in their own hands to spare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obscurity, they must consider that in these matters it cometh no otherwise to pass than in sundry the works both of art and also of nature, where that which hath greatest force in the very things we see is notwithstanding itself oftentimes not seen. The stateliness of houses, the goodliness of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which ministereth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosom of the earth concealed; and if there be at

any time occasion to search into it, such labour is then more necessary than pleasant, both to them which undertake it and for the lookers-on. In like manner, the use and benefit of good laws all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first original causes from whence they have sprung be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend that the laws which they should obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the highest wellspring and fountain of them to be discovered. Which because we are not oftentimes accustomed to do, when we do it the pains we take are more needful a great deal than acceptable, and the matters which we handle seem by reason of newness (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof as may be in this case, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every later bring some light unto all before. So that if the judgements of men do but hold themselves in suspense as touching these first more general meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue; what may seem dark at the first will afterwards be found more plain, even as the later particular decisions will appear I doubt not more strong, when the other have been read before.

3. The laws of the Church, whereby for so many ages together we have been guided in the exercise of Christian religion and the service of the true God, our rites, customs, and orders of Ecclesiastical

government, are called in question ; we are accused as men that will not have Christ Jesus to rule over them, but have wilfully cast his statutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed, and made subject unto the sceptre of his discipline. Behold therefore we offer the laws whereby we live unto the general trial and judgement of the whole world ; heartily beseeching almighty God, whom we desire to serve according to his own will, that both we and others (all kind of partial affection being clean laid aside) may have eyes to see, and hearts to embrace, the things that in his sight are most acceptable.

And because the point about which we strive is the quality of our laws, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with consideration of the nature of law in general, and of that law which giveth life unto all the rest, which are commendable, just, and good ; namely the law whereby the Eternal himself doth work. Proceeding from hence to the law, first of nature, then of scripture, we shall have the easier access unto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cause and question which we have in hand.

II. All things that are, have some operation not violent or casual. Neither doth any thing ever begin to exercise the same, without some fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unless the work be also fit to obtain it by. For unto every end every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure of working, the same we term a *Law*.

So that no certain end could ever be attained, unless the actions whereby it is attained were regular; that is to say, made suitable, fit and correspondent unto their end, by some canon, rule or law. Which thing doth first take place in the works even of God himself.—*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.*

JOHN LYLY

1554 (?)–1606

ENGLAND

THERE is an isle lying in the ocean sea, directly against that part of France which containeth Picardy and Normandy, called now England, heretofore named Britain; it hath Ireland upon the west side, on the north the main sea, on the east side the German Ocean. This island is in circuit 1720 miles, in form like unto a triangle, being broadest in the south part, and gathering narrower and narrower till it come to the farthest point of Caithness, northward, where it is narrowest, and there endeth in manner of a promontory. To repeat the ancient manner of this island, or what sundry nations have inhabited there, to set down the giants which in bigness of bone have passed the common size, and almost common credit, to rehearse what diversities of languages have been used, into how many kingdoms it hath been divided, what religions have been followed before the coming of Christ, although it would breed great delight to your ears, yet might it haply seem tedious: for that honey taken excessively cloyeth the stomach though it be honey.

But my mind is briefly to touch such things as at my being there I gathered by mine own study and inquiry, not meaning to write a chronicle, but to set down in a word what I heard by conference.

It hath in it twenty-and-six cities, of the which the chiefest is named London, a place both for the beauty of building, infinite riches, variety of all things, that excelleth all the cities in the world: insomuch that it may be called the storehouse and mart of all Europe. Close by this city runneth the famous river called the Thames, which from the head where it riseth named Isis, unto the fall midway it is thought to be an hundred and four-score miles. What can there be in any place under the heavens, that is not in this noble city either to be bought or borrowed?

It hath divers hospitals for the relieving of the poor, six-score fair churches for divine service, a glorious bourse which they call the Royal Exchange, for the meeting of merchants of all countries where any traffic is to be had. And among all the strange and beautiful shows, me thinketh there is none so notable as the bridge which crosseth the Thames, which is in manner of a continual street, well replenished with large and stately houses on both sides, and situate upon twenty arches, whereof each one is made of excellent free stone squared, every one of them being three-score foot in height, and full twenty in distance one from another.

To this place the whole realm hath his recourse, whereby it seemeth so populous, that one would scarce think so many people to be in the whole island, as he shall see sometimes in London.

This maketh gentlemen brave, and merchants

rich, citizens to purchase, and sojourners to mortgage, so that it is to be thought that the greatest wealth and substance of the whole realm is couched within the walls of London, where they that be rich keep it from those that be riotous, not detaining it from the lusty youths of England by rigour, but increasing it until young men shall savour of reason, wherein they show themselves treasurers for others, not hoarders for themselves, yet although it be sure enough, would they had it, in my opinion, it were better to be in the gentleman's purse than in the merchant's hands.

There are in this isle two-and-twenty bishops, which are as it were superintendents over the Church, men of great zeal and deep knowledge, diligent preachers of the word, earnest followers of their doctrine, careful watchmen that the wolf devour not the sheep, in civil government politic, in ruling the spiritual sword (as far as to them under their Prince appertaineth) just, cutting of those members from the Church by rigour that are obstinate in their heresies, and instructing those that are ignorant, appointing godly and learned ministers in every of their sees, that in their absence may be lights to such as are in darkness, salt to those that are unsavoury, leaven to such as are not seasoned.

Visitations are holden oftentimes, whereby abuses and disorders, either in the laity for negligence, or in the clergy for superstition, or in all for wicked living there are punishments, by due execution whereof the divine service of God is honoured with more purity, and followed with greater sincerity.

There are also in this island two famous uni-

versities, the one Oxford, the other Cambridge, both for the profession of all sciences, for divinity, physic, law, and all kind of learning, excelling all the universities in Christendom.

I was myself in either of them, and like them both so well, that I mean not in the way of controversy to prefer any for the better in England, but both for the best in the world, saving this, that colleges in Oxenford are much more stately for the building, and Cambridge much more sumptuous for the houses in the town, but the learning neither lieth in the free stones of the one, nor the fine streets of the other, for out of them both do daily proceed men of great wisdom, to rule in the commonwealth, of learning to instruct the common people, of all singular kind of professions to do good to all. And let this suffice, not to inquire which of them is the superior, but that neither of them have their equal, neither to ask which of them is the most ancient, but whether any other be so famous.

But to proceed in England, their buildings are not very stately unless it be the houses of noblemen, and here and there, the place of a gentleman, but much amended, as they report that have told me. For their munition they have not only great store, but also great cunning to use them, and courage to practise them; their armour is not unlike unto that which in other countries they use, as corselets, Almaine rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered over with leather, fustian, or canvas, over thick plates of iron that are sowed in the same.

The ordnance they have is great, and thereof great store.

Their navy is divided as it were into three sorts, of the which the one serveth for wars, the other for burthen, the third for fishermen. And some vessels there be (I know not by experience, and yet I believe by circumstance) that will sail nine hundred miles in a week, when I should scarce think that a bird could fly four hundred.

Touching other commodities, they have four baths, the first called Saint Vincent's, the second Halliewell, the third Buxton, the fourth (as in old time they read) Cair Bledud, but now taking his name of a town near adjoining it, is called the Bath.

Besides this many wonders there are to be found in this island, which I will not repeat because I myself never saw them, and you have heard of greater.

Concerning their diet, in number of dishes and change of meat, the nobility of England do exceed most, having all things that either may be bought for money, or gotten for the season: gentlemen and merchants feed very finely, and a poor man it is that dineth with one dish, and yet so content with a little, that having half dined, they say as it were in a proverb, that they are as well satisfied as the Lord Mayor of London, whom they think to fare best, though he eat not most.

In their meals there is great silence and gravity, using wine rather to ease the stomach than to load it, not like unto other nations, who never think that they have dined till they be drunken.

The attire they use is rather led by the imitation of others than their own invention, so that there is nothing in England more constant than the inconstancy of attire, now using the French

fashion, now the Spanish, then the Morisco gowns, then one thing, then another, insomuch that in drawing of an Englishman the painter setteth him down naked, having in the one hand a pair of shears, in the other a piece of cloth, who having cut his collar after the French guise is ready to make his sleeve after the Barbarian manner. And although this were the greatest enormity that I could see in England, yet is it to be excused, for they that cannot maintain this pride must leave of necessity, and they that be able will leave when they see the vanity.

The laws they use are different from ours, for although the common and civil law be not abolished, yet are they not had in so great reputation as their own common laws, which they term the laws of the Crown.

The regimen that they have dependeth upon statute law, and that is by Parliament, which is the highest court, consisting of three several sorts of people, the nobility, clergy, and commons of the realm, so as whatsoever be among them enacted, the Queen striketh the stroke, allowing such things as to her Majesty seemeth best. Then upon common law, which standeth upon maxims and principles, years and terms, the cases in this law are called pleas, or actions, and they are either criminal or civil, the mean to determine are writs, some original, some judicial: their trials and recoveries are either by verdict or demur, confession or default, wherein if any fault have been committed, either in process or form, matter or judgement, the party grieved may have a writ of error.

Then upon customable law, which consisteth

upon laudable customs, used in some private country.

Last of all upon prescription, which is a certain custom continued time out of mind, but it is more particular than their customary law.

Murderers and thieves are hanged, witches burnt, all other villanies that deserve death punished with death, insomuch that there are very few heinous offences practised in respect of those that in other countries are commonly used.

Of savage beasts and vermin they have no great store, nor any that are noisome; the cattle they keep for profit are oxen, horses, sheep, goats, and swine, and such like, whereof they have abundance; wild fowl and fish they want none, nor anything that either may serve for pleasure or profit.

They have more store of pasture than tillage, their meadows better than their cornfield, which maketh more graziers than cornmongers, yet sufficient store of both.

They excel for one thing, their dogs of all sorts, spaniels, hounds, mastiffs, and divers such, the one they keep for hunting and hawking, the other for necessary uses about their houses, as to draw water, to watch thieves, &c., and thereof they derive the word mastiff of mase and thief.

There is in that isle salt made, and saffron; there are great quarries of stone for building, sundry minerals of quicksilver, antimony, sulphur, black lead, and orpiment red and yellow. Also there groweth the finest alum that is, vermilion, bitumen, chrysocolla, copperas, the mineral stone whereof petroleum is made, and that which is most strange, the mineral pearl, which as they are for greatness and colour most excellent, so are

they digged out of the main land, in places far distant from the shore.

Besides these, though not strange, yet necessary, they have coal mines, saltpetre for ordnance, salt soda for glass.

They want no tin nor lead, there groweth iron, steel and copper, and what not, so hath God blessed that country, as it should seem not only to have sufficient to serve their own turns, but also others' necessities, whereof there was an old saying, all countries stand in need of Britain, and Britain of none.

Their air is very wholesome and pleasant, their civility not inferior to those that deserve best, their wits very sharp and quick, although I have heard that the Italian and the Frenchman have accompted them but gross and dull pated, which I think came not to pass by the proof they made of their wits, but by the Englishman's report.

For this is strange (and yet how true it is there is none that ever travelled thither but can report) that it is always incident to an Englishman to think worst of his own nation, either in learning, experience, common reason, or wit, preferring always a stranger rather for the name than the wisdom. I for mine own part think, that in all Europe there are not lawyers more learned, divines more profound, physicians more expert, than are in England.

But that which most allureth a stranger is their courtesy, their civility, and good entertainment. I speak this by experience, that I found more courtesy in England among those I never knew, in one year, than I have done in Athens or Italy among those I ever loved, in twenty.

But having entreated[1] sufficiently of the country and their conditions, let me come to the glass I promised being the court, where although I should as order requireth begin with the chiefest, yet I am enforced with the painter, to reserve my best colours to end Venus, and to lay the ground with the basest.

First then I must tell you of the grave and wise counsellors, whose foresight in peace warranteth safety in war, whose provision in plenty maketh sufficient in dearth, whose care in health is as it were a preparative against sickness, how great their wisdom hath been in all things, the twenty-two years' peace doth both show and prove. For what subtilty hath there been wrought so closely, what privy attempts so craftily, what rebellions stirred up so disorderly, but they have by policy bewrayed, prevented by wisdom, repressed by justice? What conspiracies abroad, what confederacies at home, what injuries in any place hath there been contrived, the which they have not either foreseen before they could kindle, or quenched before they could flame?

If any wily Ulysses should fain madness, there was among them always some Palamedes to reveal him; if any Thetis went about to keep her son from the doing of his country service, there was also a wise Ulysses in the court to bewray it: if Sinon came with a smooth tale to bring in the horse into Troy, there hath been always some courageous Laocoon to throw his spear against the bowels, which being not bewitched with Laocoon, hath unfolded that which Laocoon suspected.

[1] treated.

If Argus with his hundred eyes went prying to undermine Jupiter, yet met he with Mercury, who whistled all his eyes out: insomuch as there could never yet any craft prevail against their policy, or any challenge against their courage. There hath always been Achilles at home to buckle with Hector abroad, Nestor's gravity to countervail Priam's counsel, Ulysses' subtilties to match with Antenor's policies. England hath all those, that can and have wrestled with all others, whereof we can require no greater proof than experience.

Besides they have all a zealous care for the increasing of true religion, whose faiths for the most part have been tried through the fire, which they had felt, had not they fled over the water. Moreover the great study they bend towards schools of learning, doth sufficiently declare that they are not only furtherers of learning, but fathers of the learned. O thrice happy England where such counsellors are, where such people live, where such virtue springeth.

Among these shall you find Zopirus that will mangle himself to do his country good, Achates that will never start an inch from his Prince Aeneas, Nausicaa that never wanted a shift in extremity, Cato that ever counselled to the best, Ptolomeus Philadelphus that always maintained learning. Among the number of all which noble and wise counsellors (I cannot but for his honour's sake remember) the most prudent and right honourable the Lord Burleigh, high treasurer of that realm, no less reverenced for his wisdom than renowned for his office, more loved at home than feared abroad, and yet more feared for his counsel among other nations than sword or fire,

in whom the saying of Agamemnon may be verified, who rather wished for one such as Nestor than many such as Ajax.

This noble man I found so ready, being but a stranger, to do me good, that neither I ought to forget him, neither cease to pray for him, that as he hath the wisdom of Nestor, so he may have the age, that having the policies of Ulysses, he may have his honour, worthy to live long, by whom so many live in quiet. and not unworthy to be advanced, by whose care so many have been preferred.

Is not this a glass, fair ladies, for all other countries to behold, where there is not only an agreement in faith, religion, and counsel but in friendship, brotherhood, and living? By whose good endeavours vice is punished, virtue rewarded, peace established, foreign broils repressed, domestical cares appeased? what nation can of counsellors desire more? what dominion, that excepted, hath so much? when neither courage can prevail against their chivalry, nor craft take place against their counsel, not both joined in one be of force to undermine their country. When you have dazzled your eyes with this glass, behold here another. It was my fortune to be acquainted with certain English gentlemen, which brought me to the court, where when I came, I was driven into a maze to behold the lusty and brave gallants, the beautiful and chaste ladies, the rare and goodly orders, so as I could not tell whether I should most commend virtue or bravery.—*Euphues and his England.*

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

1564–1593

FAUSTUS AND HIS SCHOLARS

FAUSTUS. Ah, gentlemen!

FIRST SCHOLAR. What ails Faustus?

FAUSTUS. Ah, my sweet chamber-fellow, had I lived with thee, then had I lived still! but now I die eternally. Look, comes he not? comes he not?

SECOND SCHOLAR. What means Faustus?

THIRD SCHOLAR. Belike he is grown into some sickness by being over-solitary.

FIRST SCHOLAR. If it be so, we'll have physicians to cure him.—'Tis but a surfeit; never fear, man.

FAUSTUS. A surfeit of deadly sin, that hath damned both body and soul.

SECOND SCHOLAR. Yet, Faustus, look up to heaven; remember God's mercies are infinite.

FAUSTUS. But Faustus' offence can ne'er be pardoned: the serpent that tempted Eve may be saved, but not Faustus. Ah, gentlemen, hear me with patience, and tremble not at my speeches! Though my heart pants and quivers to remember that I have been a student here these thirty years, oh, would I had never seen Wittenberg, never read book! and what wonders I have done, all Germany can witness, yea, all the world; for which Faustus hath lost both Germany and the world, yea, heaven itself, heaven, the seat of God, the throne of the blessed, the kingdom of joy; and must remain in hell for ever,—hell, ah, hell, for ever!

Sweet friends, what shall become of Faustus, being in hell for ever ?

THIRD SCHOLAR. Yet, Faustus, call on God.

FAUSTUS. On God, whom Faustus hath abjured! on God, whom Faustus hath blasphemed ! Ah, my God, I would weep ! but the devil draws in my tears. Gush forth blood, instead of tears ! yea, life and soul—Oh, he stays my tongue ! I would lift up my hands ; but see, they hold them, they hold them !

ALL. Who, Faustus ?

FAUSTUS. Lucifer and Mephistophilis. Ah, gentlemen, I gave them my soul for my cunning !

ALL. God forbid !

FAUSTUS. God forbade it, indeed ; but Faustus hath done it : for vain pleasure of twenty-four years hath Faustus lost eternal joy and felicity. I writ them a bill with mine own blood : the date is expired ; the time will come, and he will fetch me.

FIRST SCHOLAR. Why did not Faustus tell us of this before, that divines might have prayed for thee ?

FAUSTUS. Oft have I thought to have done so ; but the devil threatened to tear me in pieces, if I named God, to fetch both body and soul, if I once gave ear to divinity : and now 'tis too late. Gentlemen, away, lest you perish with me.

SECOND SCHOLAR. Oh, what shall we do to save Faustus ?

FAUSTUS. Talk not of me, but save yourselves, and depart.

THIRD SCHOLAR. God will strengthen me ; I will stay with Faustus.

FIRST SCHOLAR. Tempt not God, sweet friend ; but let us into the next room, and there pray for him.

FAUSTUS. Aye, pray for me, pray for me; and what noise soever ye hear, come not unto me, for nothing can rescue me.

SECOND SCHOLAR. Pray thou, and we will pray that God may have mercy upon thee.

FAUSTUS. Gentlemen, farewell: if I live till morning, I'll visit you: if not, Faustus is gone to hell.

ALL. Faustus, farewell.—*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus.*

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE

1611

THE WOOING OF REBEKAH

AND Abraham was old, and well stricken in age: and the Lord had blessed Abraham in all things. And Abraham said unto his eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had, 'Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh: and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: but thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac.'

And the servant said unto him, 'Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest?' And Abraham said unto him, 'Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither again. The Lord God of heaven, which took me from my father's house,

and from the land of my kindred, and which spake unto me, and that sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land; he shall send his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife unto my son from thence. And if the woman will not be willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath: only bring not my son thither again.'

And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning that matter. And the servant took ten camels of the camels of his master, and departed; for all the goods of his master were in his hand: and he arose, and went to Mesopotamia, unto the city of Nahor. And he made his camels to kneel down without the city by a well of water at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out to draw water, and he said, 'O Lord God of my master Abraham, I pray thee, send me good speed this day, and show kindness unto my master Abraham. Behold, I stand here by the well of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water: and let it come to pass, that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast showed kindness unto my master.'

And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel, son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her shoulder: and the damsel was very fair to look

upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went down to the well, and filled her pitcher, and came up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, 'Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher.' And she said, 'Drink, my lord': and she hasted, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink. And when she had done giving him drink, she said, 'I will draw water for thy camels also, until they have done drinking.' And she hasted, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels; and the man wondering at her held his peace, to wit whether the Lord had made his journey prosperous or not.

And it came to pass, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold; and said, 'Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee: is there room in thy father's house for us to lodge in?' And she said unto him, 'I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she bare unto Nahor.' She said moreover unto him, 'We have both straw and provender enough, and room to lodge in.' And the man bowed down his head, and worshipped the Lord. And he said, 'Blessed be the Lord God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of his mercy and his truth: I being in the way, the Lord led me to the house of my master's brethren.'

And the damsel ran, and told them of her mother's house these things. And Rebekah had a brother, and his name was Laban: and Laban ran out unto the man, unto the well. And it

came to pass, when he saw the earring and bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, 'Thus spake the man unto me,' that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood by the camels at the well. And he said, 'Come in, thou blessed of the Lord; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels.' And the man came into the house: and he ungirded his camels, and gave straw and provender for the camels, and water to wash his feet, and the men's feet that were with him. And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said, 'I will not eat, until I have told mine errand.' And he said, 'Speak on.' And he said,

'I am Abraham's servant. And the Lord hath blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold, and menservants, and maidservants, and camels, and asses. And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was old: and unto him hath he given all that he hath. And my master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife to my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell: but thou shalt go unto my father's house, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son. And I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not follow me. And he said unto me, The Lord, before whom I walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my kindred, and of my father's house: then shalt thou be clear from this my oath, when thou comest to my kindred; and if they give not thee one, thou shalt be clear from

my oath. And I came this day unto the well, and said, O Lord God of my master Abraham, if now thou do prosper my way which I go : behold, I stand by the well of water ; and it shall come to pass, that when the virgin cometh forth to draw water, and I say to her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink ; and she say to me, Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels : let the same be the woman whom the Lord hath appointed out for my master's son. And before I had done speaking in mine heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder ; and she went down unto the well, and drew water : and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee. And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her shoulder, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also : so I drank, and she made the camels drink also. And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter art thou ? and she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him. And I put the earring upon her face, and the bracelets upon her hands. And I bowed down my head, and worshipped the Lord, and blessed the Lord God of my master Abraham, which had led me in the right way to take my master's brother's daughter unto his son. And now if ye will deal kindly and truly with my master, tell me : and if not, tell me ; that I may turn to the right hand, or to the left.'

Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, ' The thing proceedeth from the Lord : we cannot speak unto thee bad or good. Behold, Rebekah is before thee, take her, and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the Lord hath spoken.'

And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard their words, he worshipped the Lord, bowing himself to the earth. And the servant brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother precious things. And they did eat and drink, he and the men that were with him, and tarried all night; and they rose up in the morning, and he said, 'Send me away unto my master.' And her brother and her mother said, 'Let the damsel abide with us a few days, at the least ten; after that she shall go.' And he said unto them, 'Hinder me not, seeing the Lord hath prospered my way; send me away that I may go to my master.'

And they said, 'We will call the damsel, and inquire at her mouth.' And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, 'Wilt thou go with this man?' And she said, 'I will go.' And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men. And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, 'Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.' And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and went his way.

And Isaac came from the way of the well Lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the south country. And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide: and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, the camels were coming. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off the camel. For she had said unto the servant, 'What man is this that

walketh in the field to meet us ?' and the servant had said, 'It is my master': therefore she took a veil, and covered herself. And the servant told Isaac all things that he had done. And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.—*Genesis* xxiv.

THE STORY OF JOSEPH

Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flock with his brethren; and the lad was with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his father's wives: and Joseph brought unto his father their evil report. Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of many colours. And when his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him.

And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it his brethren: and they hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, 'Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed: for, behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf.' And his brethren said to him, 'Shalt thou indeed reign over us ? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us ?' And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and for his words.

And he dreamed yet another dream, and told

it his brethren, and said, 'Behold, I have dreamed a dream more; and, behold, the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me.' And he told it to his father, and to his brethren: and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, 'What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?' And his brethren envied him; but his father observed the saying.

And his brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem. And Israel said unto Joseph, 'Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them.' And he said to him, 'Here am I.' And he said to him, 'Go, I pray thee, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks; and bring me word again.' So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to Shechem. And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, 'What seekest thou?' And he said, 'I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed their flocks.' And the man said 'They are departed hence; for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan.' And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan.

And when they saw him afar off, even before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him. And they said one to another, 'Behold, this dreamer cometh; come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams.'

And Reuben heard it, and he delivered him out of their hands; and said, 'Let us not kill him.' And Reuben said unto them, 'Shed no blood, but cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him'; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his father again. And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph out of his coat, his coat of many colours that was on him; and they took him, and cast him into a pit: and the pit was empty, there was no water in it.

And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt. And Judah said unto his brethren, 'What profit is it if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood? Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother and our flesh.' And his brethren were content. Then there passed by Midianites merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver: and they brought Joseph into Egypt.

And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes. And he returned unto his brethren, and said, 'The child is not; and I, whither shall I go?'

And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the coat in the blood; and they sent the coat of many colours, and they brought it to their father; and said, 'This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no.' And he knew it, and said, 'It is my

son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces.' And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, 'For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning.' Thus his father wept for him.

And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither.

And the Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the Egyptian. And his master saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hand. And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he served him: and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand. And it came to pass from the time that he had made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had in the house, and in the field. And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand; and he knew not aught he had, save the bread which he did eat.

And Joseph was a goodly person, and well favoured. And it came to pass after these things that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, 'Lie with me.' But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, 'Behold, my master wotteth not what is with me in the house, and he

hath committed all that he hath to my hand; there is none greater in this house than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?' And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by her, or to be with her.

And it came to pass about this time, that Joseph went into the house to do his business; and there was none of the men of the house there within. And she caught him by his garment, saying, 'Lie with me': and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out. And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth, that she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them, saying, 'See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice: and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled, and got him out.' And she laid up his garment by her, until his lord came home. And she spake unto him according to these words; saying, 'The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me: and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment with me, and fled out.'

And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, 'After this manner did thy servant to me'; that his wrath was kindled. And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where

the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison. But the Lord was with Joseph, and showed him mercy, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison. And the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it. The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand; because the Lord was with him, and that which he did, the Lord made it to prosper.

And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker had offended their lord the king of Egypt. And Pharaoh was wroth against two of his officers, against the chief of the butlers, and against the chief of the bakers, and he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound. And the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and he served them: and they continued a season in ward.

And they dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, which were bound in the prison. And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and looked upon them, and, behold, they were sad. And he asked Pharaoh's officers that were with him in the ward of his lord's house, saying, 'Wherefore look ye so sadly to-day?' And they said unto him, 'We have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it.' And Joseph said unto them, 'Do not interpretations belong to God? tell me them, I pray you.'

And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, ' In my dream, behold, a vine was before me ; and in the vine were three branches : and it was as though it budded, and her blossoms shot forth ; and the clusters thereof brought forth ripe grapes : and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand : and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.'

And Joseph said unto him, ' This is the interpretation of it : The three branches are three days : yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thy place : and thou shalt deliver Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former manner when thou wast his butler. But think on me when it shall be well with thee, and show kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house : for indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews : and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon.'

When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, ' I also was in my dream, and, behold, I had three white baskets on my head : and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bake-meats for Pharaoh ; and the birds did eat them out of the basket upon my head.' And Joseph answered and said, ' This is the interpretation thereof : The three baskets are three days : yet within three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree ; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee.'

And it came to pass the third day, which was

Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast unto all his servants: and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and of the chief baker among his servants. And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand: but he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had interpreted to them. Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgat him.

And it came to pass at the end of two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed: and, behold, he stood by the river. And, behold, there came up out of the river seven well favoured kine and fatfleshed; and they fed in a meadow. And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed, and stood by the other kine upon the brink of the river. And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh awoke.

And he slept and dreamed the second time: and, behold, seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, rank[1] and good. And, behold, seven thin ears and blasted with the east wind sprung up after them. And the seven thin ears devoured the seven rank and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, it was a dream.

And it came to pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled; and he sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but there was none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh. Then spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh, saying, 'I do remember my faults this day: Pharaoh was wroth with his servants, and

[1] fat.

put me in ward in the captain of the guard's house, both me and the chief baker: and we dreamed a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed each man according to the interpretation of his dream. And there was there with us a young man, an Hebrew, servant to the captain of the guard; and we told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man according to his dream he did interpret. And it came to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; me he restored unto mine office, and him he hanged.'

Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the dungeon: and he shaved himself, and changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'I have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, that thou canst understand a dream to interpret it.' And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, 'It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.'

And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'In my dream, behold, I stood upon the bank of the river: and, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well favoured; and they fed in a meadow: and, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness: and the lean and the ill favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine: and when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; but they were still ill favoured, as at the beginning. So I awoke. And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good: and, behold,

seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them: and the thin ears devoured the seven good ears: and I told this unto the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to me.'

And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, 'The dream of Pharaoh is one: God hath showed Pharaoh what he is about to do. The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one. And the seven thin and ill favoured kine that came up after them are seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted with the east wind shall be seven years of famine. This is the thing which I have spoken unto Pharaoh: what God is about to do he showeth unto Pharaoh. Behold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt: and there shall arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume the land; and the plenty shall not be known in the land by reason of that famine following; for it shall be very grievous. And for that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass. Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt. Let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years, and let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities. And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the

land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine.'

And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants; and Pharaoh said unto his servants, 'Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?' And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art: thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou.' And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.' And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, 'Bow the knee': and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.' And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On.

And Joseph went out over all the land of Egypt. And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt. And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought forth by handfuls. And he gathered up all the food of the seven years, which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in

the same. And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number.

And unto Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came, which Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On bare unto him. And Joseph called the name of the first-born Manasseh: 'For God', said he, 'hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house.' And the name of the second called he Ephraim: 'For God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction.'

And the seven years of plenteousness, that was in the land of Egypt, were ended. And the seven years of dearth began to come, according as Joseph had said: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, 'Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.' And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because that the famine was so sore in all lands.

Now when Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, Jacob said unto his sons, 'Why do ye look one upon another?' And he said, 'Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; that we may live, and not die.' And Joseph's ten brethren went down to buy corn in Egypt. But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with

his brethren; for he said, 'Lest peradventure mischief befall him.'

And the sons of Israel came to buy corn among those that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan. And Joseph was the governor over the land, and he it was that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him with their faces to the earth. And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly unto them; and he said unto them, 'Whence come ye?' And they said, 'From the land of Canaan to buy food.'

And Joseph knew his brethren, but they knew not him. And Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, 'Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.' And they said unto him, 'Nay, my lord, but to buy food are thy servants come. We are all one man's sons; we are true men, thy servants are no spies.' And he said unto them, 'Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land ye are come.' And they said, 'Thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one is not.' And Joseph said unto them, 'That is it that I spake unto you, saying, Ye are spies. Hereby ye shall be proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither. Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether there be any truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies.'

And he put them all together into ward three

days. And Joseph said unto them the third day, 'This do, and live; for I fear God: if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be bound in the house of your prison: go ye, carry corn for the famine of your houses: but bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die.' And they did so. And they said one to another, 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.' And Reuben answered them, saying, 'Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required.'

And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for he spake unto them by an interpreter. And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes. Then Joseph commanded to fill their sacks with corn, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the way: and thus did he unto them. And they laded their asses with the corn, and departed thence.

And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the inn, he espied his money; for, behold, it was in his sack's mouth. And he said unto his brethren, 'My money is restored; and, lo, it is even in my sack': and their heart failed them, and they were afraid, saying one to another, 'What is this that God hath done unto us?'

And they came unto Jacob their father unto

the land of Canaan, and told him all that befell unto them; saying, 'The man, who is the lord of the land, spake roughly to us, and took us for spies of the country. And we said unto him, We are true men; we are no spies: we be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one is not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the land of Canaan. And the man, the lord of the country, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are true men; leave one of your brethren here with me, and take food for the famine of your households, and be gone: and bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye are true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffic in the land.'

And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack: and when both they and their father saw the bundles of money, they were afraid. And Jacob their father said unto them, 'Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are against me.' And Reuben spake unto his father, saying, 'Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will bring him to thee again.' And he said, 'My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.'

And the famine was sore in the land. And it came to pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their

father said unto them, 'Go again, buy us a little food.' And Judah spake unto him, saying, 'The man did solemnly protest unto us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy thee food: but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you.' And Israel said, 'Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother?' And they said, 'The man asked us straitly of our state, and of our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? and we told him according to the tenor of these words: could we certainly know that he would say, Bring your brother down?'

And Judah said unto Israel his father, 'Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may live, and not die, both we, and thou, and also our little ones. I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then let me bear the blame for ever: for except we had lingered, surely now we had returned this second time.' And their father Israel said unto them, 'If it must be so now, do this; take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices, and myrrh, nuts, and almonds: and take double money in your hand; and the money that was brought again in the mouth of your sacks, carry it again in your hand; peradventure it was an oversight: take also your brother, and arise, go again unto the man: and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that

he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.'

And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph. And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the ruler of his house, 'Bring these men home, and slay, and make ready; for these men shall dine with me at noon.' And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house. And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, 'Because of the money that was returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in; that he may seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses.' And they came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they communed with him at the door of the house, and said, 'O sir, we came indeed down at the first time to buy food: and it came to pass, when we came to the inn, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, every man's money was in the mouth of his sack, our money in full weight: and we have brought it again in our hand. And other money have we brought down in our hands to buy food: we cannot tell who put our money in our sacks.' And he said, 'Peace be to you, fear not: your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks: I had your money.' And he brought Simeon out unto them. And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they washed their feet; and he gave their asses provender. And they made ready the present against

Joseph came at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there.

And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which was in their hand into the house, and bowed themselves to him to the earth. And he asked them of their welfare, and said, 'Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? is he yet alive?' And they answered, 'Thy servant our father is in good health, he is yet alive.' And they bowed down their heads, and made obeisance. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, 'Is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me?' And he said, 'God be gracious unto thee, my son.' And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept there. And he washed his face, and went out, and refrained himself, and said, 'Set on bread.' And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians. And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and the men marvelled one at another. And he took and sent messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs. And they drank, and were merry with him.

And he commanded the steward of his house, saying, 'Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in

his sack's mouth, and put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money.' And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken.

As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. And when they were gone out of the city, and not yet far off, Joseph said unto his steward, 'Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth? ye have done evil in so doing.'

And he overtook them, and he spake unto them these same words. And they said unto him, 'Wherefore saith my lord these words? God forbid that thy servants should do according to this thing: behold, the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, both let him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen.' And he said, 'Now also let it be according unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my servant; and ye shall be blameless.' Then they speedily took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack. And he searched, and began at the eldest, and left at the youngest: and the cup was found in Benjamin's sack.

Then they rent their clothes, and laded every man his ass, and returned to the city. And Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; for he was yet there: and they fell before him on the

ground. And Joseph said unto them, 'What deed is this that ye have done? wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?' And Judah said, 'What shall we say unto my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold, we are my lord's servants, both we, and he also with whom the cup is found.' And he said, 'God forbid that I should do so: but the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my servant; and as for you, get you up in peace unto your father.'

Then Judah came near unto him, and said,

'O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh.

'My lord asked his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother? And we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon him. And we said unto my lord, The lad cannot leave his father: for if he should leave his father, his father would die. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more.

'And it came to pass when we came up unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my lord. And our father said, Go again, and buy us a little food. And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us,

then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother be with us. And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons: and the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since: and if ye take this also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

'Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life; it shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not with us, that he will die: and thy servants shall bring down the grey hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to the grave. For thy servant became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then I shall bear the blame to my father for ever. Now therefore, I pray thee, let thy servant abide instead of the lad a bondman to my lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren. For how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest peradventure I see the evil that shall come on my father.'

Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, 'Cause every man to go out from me.' And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren. And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his brethren, 'I am Joseph; doth my father yet live?' And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said unto

his brethren, 'Come near to me, I pray you.' And they came near. And he said, 'I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. For these two years hath the famine been in the land: and yet there are five years, in the which there shall neither be earing nor harvest. And God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt. Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: and thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast: and there will I nourish thee; for yet there are five years of famine; lest thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast, come to poverty. And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you. And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father hither.'

And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. Moreover he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him. And the fame thereof was heard in

Pharaoh's house, saying, 'Joseph's brethren are come'; and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land. Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and come. Also regard not your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours.'

And the children of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them wagons, according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave them provision for the way. To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and five changes of raiment. And to his father he sent after this manner; ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way.

So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, 'See that ye fall not out by the way.' And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father, and told him, saying, 'Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt.' And Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not. And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived: and

Israel said, 'It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.'—*Genesis* xxxvii. 2–36, and xxxix–xlv.

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON[1]

And hee said, A certaine man had two sonnes: and the yonger of them said to his father, Father, giue me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing. And not many dayes after, the yonger sonne gathered al together, and tooke his iourney into a farre countrey, and there wasted his substance with riotous liuing. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he beganne to be in want. And he went and ioyned himselfe to a citizen of that countrey, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. And he would faine haue filled his belly with the huskes that the swine did eate: & no man gaue vnto him. And when he came to himselfe, he said, How many hired seruants of my fathers haue bread inough and to spare, and I perish with hunger? I will arise and goe to my father, and will say vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen and before thee. And am no more worthy to be called thy sonne: make me as one of thy hired seruants. And he arose and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ranne, and fell on his necke, and kissed him. And the sonne said vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy sonne. But the father saide to his seruants, Bring

[1] Spelling of this and next extract not modernized.

foorth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shooes on his feete. And bring hither the fatted calfe, and kill it, and let vs eate and be merrie. For this my sonne was dead, and is aliue againe; hee was lost, & is found. And they began to be merie.

Now his elder sonne was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musicke & dauncing, And he called one of the seruants, and asked what these things meant. And he said vnto him, Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calfe, because he hath receiued him safe and sound. And he was angry, and would not goe in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him. And he answering said to his father, Loe, these many yeeres doe I serue thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandement, and yet thou neuer gauest mee a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: But as soon as this thy sonne was come, which hath deuoured thy liuing with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calfe. And he said vnto him, Sonne, thou art euer with me, and all that I haue is thine. It was meete that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is aliue againe: and was lost, and is found.—*St. Luke* xv. 11–32.

MARY MAGDALENE AT THE SEPULCHRE

But Mary stood without at the sepulchre, weeping: & as shee wept, she stouped downe, and looked into the Sepulchre, And seeth two Angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feete, where the body of Jesus

had layen : And they say vnto her, Woman, why weepest thou ? Shee saith vnto them, Because they haue taken away my Lord, and I know not were they haue laied him. And when she had thus said, she turned herselfe backe, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith vnto her, Woman, why weepest thou ? whom seekest thou ? She supposing him to be the gardiner, saith vnto him, Sir, if thou haue borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laied him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith vnto her, Mary. She turned herselfe, and saith vnto him, Rabboni, which is to say, Master.—*St. John* xx. 11–16.

PAUL'S VOYAGE FROM CAESAREA TO ITALY

Storm and Shipwreck

And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band. And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia ; one Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.

And the next day we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. And when we had launched from thence, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary.

And when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, a city of Lycia. And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy ; and he put us therein.

And when we had sailed slowly many days, and scarce were come over against Cnidus, the

wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone; and, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The Fair Havens; nigh whereunto was the city of Lasea.

Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past, Paul admonished them, and said unto them, 'Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives.' Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul. And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, and there to winter; which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south-west and north-west.

And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence, they sailed close by Crete. But not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon. And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive. And running under a certain island which is called Clauda, we had much work to come by the boat: which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven.

And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship; and the third day we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship. And when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared, and no small

tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.

But after long abstinence Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, 'Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss. And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship. For there stood by me this night the Angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Caesar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island.'

But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in Adria, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country; and sounded, and found it twenty fathoms: and when they had gone a little farther, they sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms. Then fearing lest we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day.

And as the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship, Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, 'Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved.' Then the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off.

And while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, 'This day is the

fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, having taken nothing. Wherefore I pray you to take some meat: for this is for your health: for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you.' And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it, he began to eat. Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took some meat. And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls. And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea.

And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship. And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed themselves unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoised up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore. And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves. And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and escape. But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land: and the rest, some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship. And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.

And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita. And the

barbarous people showed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold.

And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, 'No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live.' And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm. Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.—*Acts of the Apostles*, xxvii, xxviii. 1–6.

FRANCIS BACON
VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS

1561–1626

OF BOLDNESS

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration: question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, Action: what next?—Action: what next again?—Action. He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay

almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first?—boldness; what second and third?—boldness: and yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but, nevertheless, it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgement or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call a hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, 'If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.' So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more

ado. Certainly to men of great judgement, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous; for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them except they be very great.—*Essays.*

OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

The speech of Themistocles, the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, 'He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.' These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two different abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for if a true survey

be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof—an argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose themselves in vain enterprises: nor, on the other side, by undervaluing them they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps; but yet there is not anything amongst

civil affairs more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgement concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies importeth not much where the people is of weak courage; for (as Virgil saith), 'It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.' The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him therefore and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, 'He would not pilfer the victory': and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, 'Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight'; but before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly

make a judgement that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing: for Solon said well to Croesus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), 'Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.' Therefore, let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers; and let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that, whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burdens*; neither will it be that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by consent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England; for you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse; so that although the same tribute and tax laid by consent or by imposing be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude *that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast;

for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; *if you leave your staddles*[1] *too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes.* So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many the commons will be base: and you will bring it to that that not the hundred poll[2] will be fit for an helmet: especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been nowhere better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard, that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings; and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character, which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebae.

Neither is that state (which, for anything I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found anywhere else, except it be perhaps

[1] Young trees left standing in a wood after the undergrowth has been cut away. [2] head.

in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom doth much conduce unto martial greatness; whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire; for to think that a handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus haereditatis*; but also, *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*; and this not to singular persons

alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations; and, putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, *to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers*; yea, and sometimes in their highest commands; nay, it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the *pragmatical sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm) have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition; and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail[1]; neither must they be too much broken of it if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished in greatest part by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is to leave those arts chiefly

[1] labour, toil.

to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicrafts-men of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c., not reckoning professed soldiers.

But, above all, for empire and greatness it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time; the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are in effect only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after,

when their profession and exercise of arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue), but upon some at the least specious grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation: secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch as if the confederate had leagues defensive with divers other states, and upon invasion offered did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Graecia: or when the Lacedaemonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies: or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or pro-

tection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all questions for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business), always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually now by the space of six-score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgement of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Caesar, saith, 'Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim qui mari potitur eum rerum potiri'; and without doubt Pompey had tired out Caesar if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war: but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain; that he that commands

the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely at this day with us of Europe the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such-like things; but in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was; for it contained three things: honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit

for monarchies, except it be in the person of the monarch himself or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature* in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.—*Essays.*

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY: OF FAME

The poets made Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath; so many tongues; so many voices; she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish: there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day time she sitteth in a watch tower, and flieth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount

that the Earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in an anger brought forth Fame: for certain it is, that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and feminine. But now, if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and serious manner: there is not, in all the politics, a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points: what are false fames, and what are true fames, and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised, how they may be spread and multiplied, and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame[1] that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Caesar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Caesar's own soldiers loved him not, and, being wearied with the wars and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by

[1] rumour.

continually giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the Great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Graecia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such-like examples; and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a man meeteth with them everywhere. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.—*Essays.*

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander was bred and taught under Aristotle the great philosopher, who dedicated divers of his books of philosophy unto him; he was attended with Callisthenes and divers other learned persons, that followed him in camp, throughout his journeys and conquests. What price and estimation he had learning in doth notably appear in these three particulars: first, in the envy he used to express that he bare towards Achilles, in this, that he had so good a trumpet of his praises as Homer's verses: secondly, in the judgement or solution he gave touching that precious cabinet of Darius, which was found among his jewels; whereof question was made what thing was worthy to be put into it; and he gave his opinion for Homer's works: thirdly, in his letter to Aristotle,

after he had set forth his books of nature, wherein he expostulateth with him for publishing the secrets or mysteries of philosophy; and gave him to understand that himself esteemed it more to excel other men in learning and knowledge than in power and empire. And what use he had of learning doth appear, or rather shine, in all his speeches and answers, being full of science and use of science, and that in all variety.

And herein again it may seem a thing scholastical, and somewhat idle, to recite things that every man knoweth; but yet, since the argument I handle leadeth me thereunto, I am glad that men shall perceive I am as willing to flatter (if they will so call it) an Alexander, or a Caesar, or an Antoninus, that are dead many hundred years since, as any that now liveth: for it is the displaying of the glory of learning in sovereignty that I propound to myself, and not an humour of declaiming in any man's praises. Observe then the speech he used of Diogenes, and see if it tend not to the true state of one of the greatest questions of moral philosophy; whether the enjoying of outward things, or the contemning of them, be the greatest happiness: for when he saw Diogenes so perfectly contented with so little, he said to those that mocked at his condition, 'Were I not Alexander, I would wish to be Diogenes.' But Seneca inverteth it, and saith: 'Plus erat, quod hic nollet accipere, quam quod ille posset dare.' There were more things which Diogenes would have refused, than those were which Alexander could have given or enjoyed.

Observe again that speech which was usual with him, 'That he felt his mortality chiefly in two

things, sleep and lust'; and see if it were not a speech extracted out of the depth of natural philosophy, and liker to have comen out of the mouth of Aristotle or Democritus, than from Alexander.

See again that speech of humanity and poesy; when upon the bleeding of his wounds, he called unto him one of his flatterers, that was wont to ascribe to him divine honour, and said, 'Look, this is very blood; this is not such a liquor as Homer speaketh of, which ran from Venus' hand, when it was pierced by Diomedes.'

See likewise his readiness in reprehension of logic, in the speech he used to Cassander, upon a complaint that was made against his father Antipater: for when Alexander happed to say, 'Do you think these men would have come from so far to complain, except they had just cause of grief?' and Cassander answered, 'Yea, that was the matter, because they thought they should not be disproved'; said Alexander laughing: 'See the subtilties of Aristotle, to take a matter both ways, pro et contra, &c.'

But note again how well he could use the same art, which he reprehended, to serve his own humour: when bearing a secret grudge to Callisthenes, because he was against the new ceremony of his adoration, feasting one night where the same Callisthenes was at the table, it was moved by some after supper, for entertainment sake, that Callisthenes, who was an eloquent man, might speak of some theme or purpose at his own choice; which Callisthenes did; choosing the praise of the Macedonian nation for his discourse, and performing the same with so good manner

as the hearers were much ravished: whereupon Alexander, nothing pleased, said, 'It was easy to be eloquent upon so good a subject': but saith he, 'Turn your style, and let us hear what you can say against us': which Callisthenes presently undertook, and did with that sting and life, that Alexander interrupted him and said, 'The goodness of the cause made him eloquent before, and despite made him eloquent then again.'

Consider further, for tropes of rhetoric, that excellent use of a metaphor or translation, wherewith he taxed Antipater, who was an imperious and tyrannous governor: for when one of Antipater's friends commended him to Alexander for his moderation, that he did not degenerate, as his other lieutenants did, into the Persian pride, in use of purple, but kept the ancient habit of Macedon, of black; 'True (saith Alexander), but Antipater is all purple within.' Or that other, when Parmenio came to him in the plain of Arbela, and showed him the innumerable multitude of his enemies, specially as they appeared by the infinite number of lights, as it had been a new firmament of stars, and thereupon advised him to assail them by night: whereupon he answered, 'That he would not steal the victory.'

For matter of policy, weigh that significant distinction, so much in all ages embraced, that he made between his two friends Hephaestion and Craterus, when he said, 'That the one loved Alexander, and the other loved the king': describing the principal difference of princes' best servants, that some in affection love their person, and other in duty love their crown.

Weigh also that excellent taxation of an error,

ordinary with counsellors of princes, that they counsel their masters according to the model of their own mind and fortune, and not of their masters'; when upon Darius' great offers Parmenio had said, 'Surely I would accept these offers, were I as Alexander'; saith Alexander, 'So would I were I as Parmenio.'

Lastly, weigh that quick and acute reply, which he made when he gave so large gifts to his friends and servants, and was asked what he did reserve for himself, and he answered, 'Hope': weigh, I say, whether he had not cast up his account right, because *hope* must be the portion of all that resolve upon great enterprises. For this was Caesar's portion when he went first into Gaul, his estate being then utterly overthrown with largesses. And this was likewise the portion of that noble prince, howsoever transported with ambition, Henry Duke of Guise, of whom it was usually said, that he was the greatest usurer in France, because he had turned all his estate into obligations.

To conclude therefore: as certain critics are used to say hyperbolically, 'That if all sciences were lost they might be found in Virgil,' so certainly this may be said truly, there are the prints and footsteps of learning in those few speeches which are reported of this prince: the admiration of whom, when I consider him not as Alexander the Great, but as Aristotle's scholar, hath carried me too far.—*Advancement of Learning.*

THIS KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

For greatness (Mr. Speaker) I think a man may speak it soberly and without bravery, that this kingdom of England, having Scotland united, Ireland reduced, the sea provinces of the Low Countries contracted, and shipping maintained, is one of the greatest monarchies, in forces truly esteemed, that hath been in the world. For certainly the kingdoms here on earth have a resemblance with the kingdom of heaven, which our Saviour compareth not to any great kernel or nut, but to a very small grain, yet such a one as is apt to grow and spread. And such do I take to be the constitution of this kingdom, if indeed we shall refer our counsels to greatness and power, and not quench them too much with consideration of utility and wealth. For (Mr. Speaker) was it not, think you, a true answer that Solon of Greece made to the rich king Croesus of Lydia, when he showed unto him a great quantity of gold that he had gathered together, in ostentation of his greatness and might. But Solon said to him, contrary to his expectation, 'Why, sir, if another come that hath better iron than you, he will be lord of all your gold.' Neither is the authority of Machiavel to be despised, who scorneth the proverb of estate taken first from a speech of Mucianus, that 'Moneys are the sinews of wars'; and saith there are no true sinews of war but the very sinews of the arms of valiant men. Nay more (Mr. Speaker), whosoever shall look into the seminary and beginnings of the monarchies of the world, he shall find them founded in poverty. Persia, a

country barren and poor, in respect of the Medes whom they subdued. Macedon, a kingdom ignoble and mercenary, until the time of Philip the son of Amyntas. Rome had poor and pastoral beginnings. The Turks, a band of Sarmatian Scythes, that in a vagabond manner made impression upon that part of Asia which is yet called Turcomania; out of which, after much variety of fortune, sprang the Ottoman family, now the terror of the world. So we know the Goths, Vandals, Alans, Huns, Lombards, Normans, and the rest of the northern people, in one age of the world made their descent or expedition upon the Roman empire, and came not as rovers to carry away prey and be gone again, but planted themselves in a number of fruitful and rich provinces, where not only their generations, but their names remain till this day; witness Lombardy, Catalonia, a name compounded of Goth and Alane, Andaluzio, a name corrupted from Vandelicia, Hungary, Normandy, and others.

Nay, the fortune of the Swisses of late years, which are bred in a barren and mountainous country, is not to be forgotten, who first ruined the Duke of Burgundy, the same who had almost ruined the kingdom of France; what time, after the battle of Grançon, the rich jewel of Burgundy, prized at many thousands, was sold for a few pence by a common Swiss, that knew no more what a jewel meant than did Aesop's cock. And again the same nation, in revenge of a scorn, was the ruin of the French king's affairs in Italy, Lewis the Twelfth. For that king, when he was pressed somewhat rudely by an agent of the Swisses to raise their pensions, brake into words of choler:

'What,' said he, 'will these villains of the mountains put a tax upon me?' Which words lost him his duchy of Milan, and chased him out of Italy. All which examples (Mr. Speaker) do well prove Solon's opinion of the authority and mastery that iron hath over gold. And therefore if I should speak unto you mine own heart, methinks we should a little disdain that the nation of Spain, which howsoever of late it hath grown to rule, yet of ancient times served many ages, first under Carthage, then under Rome, after under Saracens, Goths, and others, should of late years take unto themselves that spirit as to dream of a monarchy in the West, according to that device, *Video solem orientem in occidente*, only because they have ravished from some wild and unarmed people mines and store of gold; and on the other side, that this island of Brittany, seated and manned as it is, and that hath (I make no question) the best iron in the world, that is the best soldiers of the world, should think of nothing but reckonings and audits, and *meum* and *tuum*, and I cannot tell what.—*Speech in House of Commons*, Feb. 17, 1606–7.

HENRY VII

This king attained unto the crown, not only from a private fortune, which mought endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. His times were rather prosperous than calm, for he was assailed with many troubles, which he overcame happily; a matter that did no less set forth his

wisdom than his fortune ; and yet such a wisdom as seemed rather a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than any deep foresight to prevent them afar off. Jealous he was over the greatness of his nobility, as remembering how himself was set up. And much more did this humour increase in him after he had conflicted with such idols and counterfeits as were Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck : the strangeness of which dangers made him think nothing safe. Whereby he was forced to descend to the employment of secret espials and suborned conspirators, a necessary remedy against so dark and subtle practices ; and not to be reprehended, except it were true which some report, that he had intelligence with confessors for the revealing matters disclosed in confession. And yet if a man compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain, upon whom notwithstanding he did handsomely bestow the envy of the death of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick. Great and devout reverence he bare into religion, as he that employed ecclesiastical men in most of his affairs and negotiations ; and as he that was brought hardly and very late to the abolishing of the privileges of sanctuaries in case of treason, and that not before he had obtained it by way of suit from Pope Alexander ; which sanctuaries nevertheless had been the forges of most of his troubles. In his government he was led by none, scarcely by his laws, and yet he was a great observer of formality in all his proceedings, which

notwithstanding was no impediment to the working of his will; and in the suppressing and punishing of the treasons which during the whole course of his reign were committed against him, he had a very strange kind of interchanging of very large and unexpected pardons with severe executions; which (his wisdom considered) could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle that he had apprehended, that it was good not obstinately to pursue one course, but to try both ways. In his wars, he seemed rather confident than enterprising, by which also commonly he was not the poorer; but generally he did seem inclinable to live in peace, and made but offers of war to mend the conditions of peace; and in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects he was ever ready to achieve those wars in person, sometimes reserving himself, but never retiring himself but as ready to second. Of nature he coveted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused for the preservation of monarchies a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reignold Bray, who (as it after appeared) as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humour as they tempered and refrained it. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed (being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than the servile following of his own humour) gave him way and shaped him way to those extremities, wherewith himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which

his successor disavowed. In expending of treasure he never spared charge that his affairs required, and in his foundations was magnificent enough, but his rewards were very limited; so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than towards the deserts of others. He chose commonly to employ cunning persons, as he that knew himself sufficient to make use of their uttermost reaches, without danger of being abused with them himself.—*Manuscript Fragment.*

LAMBERT SIMNEL BECOMES A SCULLION IN A KING'S KITCHEN

There were taken prisoners amongst others the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Simnel again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the King would not take his life, both out of magnanimity (taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded), and likewise out of wisdom; thinking that if he suffered death he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that (in a kind of *mattacina* of human fortune) he turned a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the King loving to seal up his own dangers.—*Life of Henry VII.*

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

1564–1616

FALSTAFF

Enter FALSTAFF, GADSHILL, BARDOLPH, PETO, *and* FRANCIS.

POINS. Welcome, Jack: where hast thou been?

FALSTAFF. A plague of all cowards, I say, and a vengeance too! marry, and amen! Give me a cup of sack, boy. Ere I lead this life long, I'll sew netherstocks and mend them and foot them too. A plague of all cowards! Give me a cup of sack, rogue.—Is there no virtue extant? [*He drinks.*

PRINCE. Didst thou never see Titan kiss a dish of butter—pitiful-hearted Titan, that melted at the sweet tale of the sun? if thou didst then behold that compound.

FALSTAFF. You rogue, here 's lime in this sack too: there is nothing but roguery to be found in villanous man: yet a coward is worse than a cup of sack with lime in it, a villanous coward! Go thy ways, old Jack; die when thou wilt. If manhood, good manhood, be not forgot upon the face of the earth, then am I a shotten[1] herring. There live not three good men unhanged in England, and one of them is fat and grows old: God help the while! a bad world, I say. I would I were a weaver; I could sing psalms or anything. A plague of all cowards, I say still.

PRINCE. How now, wool-sack! what mutter you?

[1] having cast the spawn.

FALSTAFF. A king's son! If I do not beat thee out of thy kingdom with a dagger of lath, and drive all thy subjects afore thee like a flock of wild geese, I'll never wear hair on my face more. You Prince of Wales!

PRINCE. Why, you whoreson round man, what 's the matter?

FALSTAFF. Are you not a coward? answer me to that; and Poins there?

POINS. 'Zounds! ye fat paunch, an ye call me coward, I'll stab thee.

FALSTAFF. I call thee coward! I'll see thee damned ere I call thee coward; but I would give a thousand pound I could run as fast as thou canst. You are straight enough in the shoulders; you care not who sees your back: call you that backing of your friends? A plague upon such backing! give me them that will face me. Give me a cup of sack: I am a rogue if I drunk to-day.

PRINCE. O villain! thy lips are scarce wiped since thou drunkest last.

FALSTAFF. All 's one for that. [*He drinks.*] A plague of all cowards, still say I.

PRINCE. What 's the matter?

FALSTAFF. What 's the matter? there be four of us here have ta'en a thousand pound this day morning.

PRINCE. Where is it, Jack? where is it?

FALSTAFF. Where is it! taken from us it is: a hundred upon poor four of us.

PRINCE. What, a hundred, man?

FALSTAFF. I am a rogue, if I were not at half-sword with a dozen of them two hours together. I have 'scap'd by miracle. I am eight times thrust through the doublet, four through the

hose ; my buckler cut through and through ; my sword hacked like a hand-saw : ecce signum ! I never dealt better since I was a man : all would not do. A plague of all cowards ! Let them speak : if they speak more or less than truth, they are villains and the sons of darkness.

PRINCE. Speak, sirs ; how was it ?

GADSHILL. We four set upon some dozen,—

FALSTAFF. Sixteen, at least, my lord.

GADSHILL. And bound them.

PETO. No, no, they were not bound.

FALSTAFF. You rogue, they were bound, every man of them ; or I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew.

GADSHILL. As we were sharing, some six or seven fresh men set upon us,—

FALSTAFF. And unbound the rest, and then come in the other.

PRINCE. What, fought ye with them all ?

FALSTAFF. All ! I know not what ye call all ; but if I fought not with fifty of them, I am a bunch of radish : if there were not two or three and fifty upon poor old Jack, then am I no two-legged creature.

PRINCE. Pray God you have not murdered some of them.

FALSTAFF. Nay, that 's past praying for : I have peppered two of them : two I am sure I have paid, two rogues in buckram suits. I tell thee what, Hal, if I tell thee a lie, spit in my face, call me horse. Thou knowest my old ward ; here I lay, and thus I bore my point. Four rogues in buckram let drive at me,—

PRINCE. What, four ? thou saidst but two even now.

FALSTAFF. Four, Hal; I told thee four.

POINS. Ay, ay, he said four.

FALSTAFF. These four came all a-front, and mainly thrust at me. I made me no more ado but took all their seven points in my target, thus.

PRINCE. Seven? why, there were but four even now.

FALSTAFF. In buckram.

POINS. Ay, four, in buckram suits.

FALSTAFF. Seven, by these hilts, or I am a villain else.

PRINCE. Prithee, let him alone; we shall have more anon.

FALSTAFF. Dost thou hear me, Hal?

PRINCE. Ay, and mark thee too, Jack.

FALSTAFF. Do so, for it is worth the listening to. These nine in buckram that I told thee of,—

PRINCE. So, two more already.

FALSTAFF. Their points being broken,—

POINS. Down fell their hose.

FALSTAFF. Began to give me ground; but I followed me close, came in foot and hand and with a thought seven of the eleven I paid.

PRINCE. O monstrous! eleven buckram men grown out of two.

FALSTAFF. But, as the devil would have it, three misbegotten knaves in Kendal-green came at my back and let drive at me; for it was so dark, Hal, that thou couldst not see thy hand.

PRINCE. These lies are like the father that begets them; gross as a mountain, open, palpable. Why, thou clay-brained guts, thou knotty-pated fool, thou whoreson, obscene, greasy tallow-ketch,[1]—

[1] vessel filled with tallow.

FALSTAFF. What, art thou mad? art thou mad? is not the truth the truth?

PRINCE. Why, how couldst thou know these men in Kendal-green, when it was so dark thou couldst not see thy hand? come, tell us your reason: what sayest thou to this?

POINS. Come, your reason, Jack, your reason.

FALSTAFF. What, upon compulsion? 'Zounds! an I were at the strappado,[1] or all the racks in the world, I would not tell you on compulsion. Give you a reason on compulsion! if reasons were as plenty as blackberries I would give no man a reason upon compulsion, I.

PRINCE. I'll be no longer guilty of this sin: this sanguine coward, this bed-presser, this horse-back-breaker, this huge hill of flesh;—

FALSTAFF. 'Sblood, you starveling, you elf-skin, you dried neat's-tongue, you bull's pizzle, you stock-fish! O! for breath to utter what is like thee; you tailor's yard, you sheath, you bow-case, you vile standing tuck[2];—

PRINCE. Well, breathe awhile, and then to it again; and when thou hast tired thyself in base comparisons, hear me speak but this.

POINS. Mark, Jack.

PRINCE. We two saw you four set on four and you bound them, and were masters of their wealth. Mark now, how a plain tale shall put you down. Then did we two set on you four, and, with a word, out-faced you from your prize, and have it; yea, and can show it you here in the house. And, Falstaff, you carried your guts away as nimbly, with as quick dexterity, and roared for mercy, and still ran and roared, as ever I heard bull-calf.

[1] a form of torture. [2] rapier.

What a slave art thou, to hack thy sword as thou hast done, and then say it was in fight! What trick, what device, what starting-hole canst thou now find out to hide thee from this open and apparent shame?

POINS. Come, let's hear, Jack; what trick hast thou now?

FALSTAFF. By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made ye. Why, hear you, my masters: was it for me to kill the heir-apparent? Should I turn upon the true prince? Why, thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules; but beware instinct; the lion will not touch the true prince. Instinct is a great matter, I was a coward on instinct. I shall think the better of myself and thee during my life; I for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince. But, by the Lord, lads, I am glad you have the money. Hostess, clap to the doors: watch to-night, pray to-morrow. Gallants, lads, boys, hearts of gold, all the titles of good fellowship come to you! What! shall we be merry? shall we have a play extempore?

PRINCE. Content; and the argument shall be thy running away.

FALSTAFF. Ah! no more of that, Hal, an thou lovest me!—*Henry IV, Part I*, II. iv.

FALSTAFF AGAIN

FALSTAFF. Well, thou wilt be horribly chid to-morrow when thou comest to thy father: if thou love me, practise an answer.

PRINCE. Do thou stand for my father, and examine me upon the particulars of my life.

FALSTAFF. Shall I? content: this chair shall

be my state, this dagger my sceptre, and this cushion my crown.

PRINCE. Thy state is taken for a joint-stool, thy golden sceptre for a leaden dagger, and thy precious rich crown for a pitiful bald crown!

FALSTAFF. Well, an the fire of grace be not quite out of thee, now shalt thou be moved. Give me a cup of sack to make mine eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept; for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein. [*Drinks.*

PRINCE. Well, here is my leg. [*Makes a bow.*

FALSTAFF. And here is my speech. Stand aside, nobility.

QUICKLY. O Jesu! This is excellent sport, i' faith!

FALSTAFF. Weep not, sweet queen, for trickling tears are vain.

QUICKLY. O, the father! how he holds his countenance.

FALSTAFF. For God's sake, lords, convey my tristful queen,

For tears do stop the flood-gates of her eyes.

QUICKLY. O Jesu! he doth it as like one of these harlotry players as ever I see!

FALSTAFF. Peace, good pint-pot! peace, good tickle-brain! Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accompanied: for though the camomile, the more it is trodden on the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted the sooner it wears. That thou art my son, I have partly thy mother's word, partly my own opinion; but chiefly, a villanous trick of thine eye and a foolish hanging of thy

nether lip, that doth warrant me. If then thou be son to me, here lies the point; why, being son to me, art thou so pointed at? Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher[1] and eat blackberries? a question not to be asked. Shall the son of England prove a thief and take purses? a question to be asked. There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of, and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch: this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile; so doth the company thou keepest; for, Harry, now I do not speak to thee in drink, but in tears, not in pleasure but in passion, not in words only, but in woes also. And yet there is a virtuous man whom I have often noted in thy company, but I know not his name.

PRINCE. What manner of man, an it like your majesty?

FALSTAFF. A goodly portly man, i' faith, and a corpulent; of a cheerful look, a pleasing eye, and a most noble carriage; and, as I think, his age some fifty, or by 'r lady, inclining to threescore; and now I remember me, his name is Falstaff: if that man should be lewdly given, he deceiveth me; for, Harry, I see virtue in his looks. If then the tree may be known by the fruit, as the fruit by the tree, then, peremptorily I speak it, there is virtue in that Falstaff: him keep with, the rest banish. And tell me now, thou naughty varlet, tell me, where hast thou been this month?

PRINCE. Dost thou speak like a king? Do thou stand for me, and I'll play my father.

FALSTAFF. Depose me? if thou dost it half

[1] truant.

so gravely, so majestically, both in word and matter, hang me up by the heels for a rabbit-sucker or a poulter's hare.

PRINCE. Well, here I am set.

FALSTAFF. And here I stand. Judge, my masters.

PRINCE. Now, Harry! whence come you?

FALSTAFF. My noble lord, from Eastcheap.

PRINCE. The complaints I hear of thee are grievous.

FALSTAFF. 'Sblood, my lord, they are false: nay, I'll tickle ye for a young prince, i' faith.

PRINCE. Swearest thou, ungracious boy? henceforth ne'er look on me. Thou art violently carried away from grace: there is a devil haunts thee in the likeness of a fat old man; a tun of man is thy companion. Why dost thou converse with that trunk of humours, that bolting-hutch of beastliness, that swoln parcel of dropsies, that huge bombard of sack, that stuffed cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly, that reverend vice, that grey iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity in years? Wherein is he good but to taste sack and drink it? wherein neat and cleanly but to carve a capon and eat it? wherein cunning but in craft? wherein crafty but in villany? wherein villanous but in all things? wherein worthy but in nothing?

FALSTAFF. I would your Grace would take me with you[1]: whom means your Grace?

PRINCE. That villanous abominable misleader of youth, Falstaff, that old white-bearded Satan

FALSTAFF. My lord, the man I know.

[1] make me understand you.

PRINCE. I know thou dost.

FALSTAFF. But to say I know more harm in him than in myself were to say more than I know. That he is old, the more the pity, his white hairs do witness it; but that he is, saving your reverence, a whoremaster, that I utterly deny. If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked! If to be old and merry be a sin, then many an old host that I know is damned: if to be fat be to be hated, then Pharaoh's lean kine are to be loved. No, my good lord; banish Peto, banish Bardolph, banish Poins; but for sweet Jack Falstaff, kind Jack Falstaff, true Jack Falstaff, valiant Jack Falstaff, and therefore more valiant, being, as he is, old Jack Falstaff, banish not him thy Harry's company: banish not him thy Harry's company: banish plump Jack, and banish all the world.

PRINCE. I do, I will.—*Henry IV, Part I*, II. iv.

DOGBERRY

Enter DOGBERRY *and* VERGES, *with the Watch.*

DOGBERRY. Are you good men and true?

VERGES. Yea, or else it were pity but they should suffer salvation, body and soul.

DOGBERRY. Nay, that were a punishment too good for them, if they should have any allegiance in them, being chosen for the prince's watch.

VERGES. Well, give them their charge, neighbour Dogberry.

DOGBERRY. First, who think you the most desartless man to be constable?

FIRST WATCH. Hugh Oatcake, sir, or George Seacoal; for they can write and read.

DOGBERRY. Come hither, neighbour Seacoal. God hath blessed you with a good name: to be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune; but to write and read comes by nature.

SECOND WATCH. Both which, Master constable,—

DOGBERRY. You have: I knew it would be your answer. Well, for your favour, sir, why, give God thanks, and make no boast of it; and for your writing and reading, let that appear when there is no need of such vanity. You are thought here to be the most senseless and fit man for the constable of the watch; therefore bear you the lanthorn. This is your charge: you shall comprehend all vagrom men; you are to bid any man stand, in the prince's name.

WATCH. How, if a' will not stand?

DOGBERRY. Why, then, take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave.

VERGES. If he will not stand when he is bidden, he is none of the prince's subjects.

DOGBERRY. True, and they are to meddle with none but the prince's subjects. You shall also make no noise in the streets: for, for the watch to babble and to talk is most tolerable and not to be endured.

SECOND WATCH. We will rather sleep than talk: we know what belongs to a watch.

DOGBERRY. Why, you speak like an ancient and most quiet watchman, for I cannot see how sleeping should offend; only have a care that your bills be not stolen. Well, you are to call at all the alehouses, and bid those that are drunk get them to bed.

WATCH. How if they will not ?

DOGBERRY. Why then, let them alone till they are sober : if they make you not then the better answer, you may say they are not the men you took them for.

WATCH. Well, sir.

DOGBERRY. If you meet a thief, you may suspect him, by virtue of your office, to be no true man ; and, for such kind of men, the less you meddle or make with them, why, the more is for your honesty.

SECOND WATCH. If we know him to be a thief, shall we not lay hands on him ?

DOGBERRY. Truly, by your office, you may ; but I think they that touch pitch will be defiled. The most peaceable way for you, if you do take a thief, is, to let him show himself what he is and steal out of your company.

VERGES. You have been always called a merciful man, partner.

DOGBERRY. Truly, I would not hang a dog by my will, much more a man who hath any honesty in him.

VERGES. If you hear a child cry in the night, you must call to the nurse and bid her still it.

SECOND WATCH. How if the nurse be asleep and will not hear us ?

DOGBERRY. Why, then, depart in peace, and let the child wake her with crying ; for the ewe that will not hear her lamb when it baes, will never answer a calf when he bleats.

VERGES. 'Tis very true.

DOGBERRY. This is the end of the charge. You constable, are to present the prince's own person : if you meet the prince in the night, you may stay him.

VERGES. Nay, by 'r lady, that I think, a' cannot.

DOGBERRY. Five shillings to one on 't, with any man that knows the statues, he may stay him: marry, not without the prince be willing; for, indeed, the watch ought to offend no man, and it is an offence to stay a man against his will.

VERGES. By 'r lady, I think it be so.

DOGBERRY. Ha, ah, ha! Well, masters, good night: an there be any matter of weight chances, call up me: keep your fellows' counsels and your own, and good night. Come, neighbour.

SECOND WATCH. Well, masters, we hear our charge: let us go sit here upon the church-bench till two, and then all go to bed.

DOGBERRY. One word more, honest neighbours. I pray you, watch about Signior Leonato's door; for the wedding being there to-morrow, there is a great coil[1] to-night. Adieu; be vigitant, I beseech you.—*Much Ado about Nothing*, III. iii.

DOGBERRY AGAIN

Enter DOGBERRY, VERGES, *and* SEXTON, *in gowns*; *and the Watch, with* CONRADE *and* BORACHIO.

DOGBERRY. Is our whole dissembly appeared?

VERGES. O! a stool and a cushion for the sexton.

SEXTON. Which be the malefactors?

DOGBERRY. Marry, that am I and my partner.

VERGES. Nay, that 's certain: we have the exhibition to examine.

[1] bustle, tumult.

SEXTON. But which are the offenders that are to be examined? let them come before Master constable.

DOGBERRY. Yea, marry, let them come before me. What is your name, friend?

BORACHIO. Borachio.

DOGBERRY. Pray write down Borachio. Yours, sirrah?

CONRADE. I am a gentleman, sir, and my name is Conrade.

DOGBERRY. Write down Master gentleman Conrade. Masters, do you serve God?

CONRADE. } Yea, sir, we hope.
BORACHIO. }

DOGBERRY. Write down that they hope they serve God: and write God first; for God defend but God should go before such villains! Masters, it is proved already that you are little better than false knaves, and it will go near to be thought so shortly. How answer you for yourselves?

CONRADE. Marry, sir, we say we are none.

DOGBERRY. A marvellous witty fellow, I assure you; but I will go about with him. Come you hither, sirrah; a word in your ear: sir, I say to you, it is thought you are false knaves.

BORACHIO. Sir, I say to you we are none.

DOGBERRY. Well, stand aside. 'Fore God, they are both in a tale. Have you writ down, that they are none?

SEXTON. Master constable, you go not the way to examine: you must call forth the watch that are their accusers.

DOGBERRY. Yea, marry, that 's the eftest way.

Let the watch come forth. Masters, I charge you, in the prince's name, accuse these men.

First Watch. This man said, sir, that Don John, the prince's brother, was a villain.

Dogberry. Write down Prince John a villain. Why, that is flat perjury, to call a prince's brother villain.

Borachio. Master constable,—

Dogberry. Pray thee, fellow, peace: I do not like thy look, I promise thee.

Sexton. What heard you him say else?

Second Watch. Marry, that he had received a thousand ducats of Don John for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully.

Dogberry. Flat burglary as ever was committed.

Verges. Yea, by the mass, that it is.

Sexton. What else, fellow?

First Watch. And that Count Claudio did mean, upon his words, to disgrace Hero before the whole assembly, and not marry her.

Dogberry. O villain! thou wilt be condemned into everlasting redemption for this.

Sexton. What else?

Second Watch. This is all.

Sexton. And this is more, masters, than you can deny. Prince John is this morning secretly stolen away: Hero was in this manner accused, in this very manner refused, and, upon the grief of this, suddenly died. Master constable, let these men be bound, and brought to Leonato's: I will go before and show him their examination. [*Exit.*

Dogberry. Come, let them be opinioned.

Verges. Let them be in the hands—

Conrade. Off, coxcomb!

DOGBERRY. God 's my life ! where 's the sexton ? let him write down the prince's officer coxcomb. Come, bind them. Thou naughty varlet !

CONRADE. Away ! you are an ass ; you are an ass.

DOGBERRY. Dost thou not suspect my place ? Dost thou not suspect my years ? O that he were here to write me down an ass ! but, masters, remember that I am an ass ; though it be not written down, yet forget not that I am an ass. No, thou villain, thou art full of piety, as shall be proved upon thee by good witness. I am a wise fellow ; and, which is more, an officer ; and, which is more, a householder ; and, which is more, as pretty a piece of flesh as any in Messina ; and one that knows the law, go to ; and a rich fellow enough, go to ; and a fellow that hath had losses ; and one that hath two gowns, and everything handsome about him. Bring him away. O that I had been writ down an ass !—*Much Ado about Nothing*, IV. ii.

HAMLET AND THE GRAVE-DIGGER

HAMLET. How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot ?

FIRST CLOWN. Faith, if he be not rotten before he die,—as we have many pocky corses nowadays, that will scarce hold the laying in,—he will last you some eight year or nine year ; a tanner will last you nine year.

HAMLET. Why he more than another ?

FIRST CLOWN. Why, sir, his hide is so tanned with his trade that he will keep out water a great

while, and your water is a sore decayer of your whoreson dead body. Here 's a skull now; this skull hath lain you i' the earth three-and-twenty years.

HAMLET. Whose was it?

FIRST CLOWN. A whoreson mad fellow's it was: whose do you think it was?

HAMLET. Nay, I know not.

FIRST CLOWN. A pestilence on him for a mad rogue! a' poured a flagon of Rhenish on my head once. This same skull, sir, was Yorick's skull, the king's jester.

HAMLET. This!

FIRST CLOWN. E'en that.

HAMLET. Let me see.— [*Takes the skull.*]— Alas! poor Yorick. I knew him, Horatio; a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy; he hath borne me on his back a thousand times; and now, how abhorred in my imagination it is! my gorge rises at it. Here hung those lips that I have kissed I know not how oft. Where be your gibes now? your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now, to mock your own grinning? quite chapfallen? Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come; make her laugh at that.—*Hamlet*, v. i.

THOMAS NASH

1567–1600

A SECOND PART OF THE GORGEOUS GALLERY OF GALLANT DEVICES

To tell you of the rare pleasures of their gardens, their baths, their vineyards, their galleries, were to write a second part of the gorgeous Gallery of gallant devices. Why you should not come into any man's house of account, but he had fish-ponds and little orchards on the top of his leads. If by rain or any other means those ponds were so full they need to be sluiced or let out, even of their superfluities they made melodious use, for they had great wind-instruments instead of leaden spouts, that went duly in consort, only with this water's rumbling descent. I saw a summer banqueting house belonging to a merchant, that was the marvel of the world, and could not be matched except God should make another Paradise. It was built round of green marble, like a theatre without; within, there was a heaven and earth comprehended both under one roof; the heaven was a clear overhanging vault of crystal, wherein the sun and moon and each visible star had his true similitude, shine, situation, and motion, and, by what enwrapped art I cannot conceive, these spheres in their proper orbs observed their circular wheelings and turnings, making a certain kind of soft angelical murmuring music in their often windings and going about; which music, the philosophers say, in the true heaven, by reason of the grossness of our senses, we are not capable

of. For the earth, it was counterfeited in that likeness that Adam lorded out it before his fall. A wide vast spacious room it was, such as we would conceit Prince Arthur's hall to be, where he feasted all his knights of the round table together every Pentecost. The floor was painted with the beautifullest flowers that ever man's eye admired; which so lineally were delineated, that he that viewed them afar off, and had not directly stood poringly over them, would have sworn they had lived indeed. The walls round about were hedged with olives and palm trees, and all other odoriferous fruit-bearing plants; which at any solemn entertainment dropped myrrh and frankincense, and other trees, that bare no fruit, were set in just order, one against another, and divided the room into a number of shady lanes, leaving but one overspreading pine-tree arbour, where we sat and banquetted. On the well-clothed boughs of this conspiracy of pine trees against the resembled sunbeams, were perched as many sorts of shrill-breasted birds as the summer hath allowed for singing-men in her silvan chapels. Who though there were bodies without souls, and sweet resembled substances without sense, yet by the mathematical experiments of long silver pipes secretly inrinded in the entrails of the boughs whereon they sat, and undiscernably conveyed under their bellies into their small throats sloping, they whistled and freely carolled their natural field-note. Neither went those silver pipes straight, but, by many edged unsundered writhings and crankled wanderings aside, strayed from bough to bough into an hundred throats. But into this silver pipe so writhed and wandering

aside, if any demand how the wind was breathed; forsooth the tail of the silver pipe stretched itself into the mouth of a great pair of bellows, where it was close soldered, and bailed about with iron, it could not stir or have any vent betwixt. Those bellows with the rising and falling of leaden plummets wound upon a wheel, did beat up and down incessantly, and so gathered in wind, serving with one blast all the snarled pipes to and fro of one tree at once. But so closely were all those organizing implements obscured in the corpulent trunks of the trees, that every man there present renounced conjectures of art, and said it was done by enchantment.

One tree for his fruit bare nothing but enchained chirping birds, whose throats being conduit-piped with squared narrow shells, and charged siring-wise with searching sweet water driven in by a little wheel for the nonce, that fed it afar off, made a spirting sound, such as chirping is, in bubbling upwards through the rough crannies of their closed bills.—*The Unfortunate Traveller.*

JOHN DONNE

1573–1631

SLEEP

Natural men have conceived a twofold use of sleep; that it is a refreshing of the body in this life; that it is a preparing of the soul for the next; that it is a feast, and it is the grace at that feast; that it is our recreation, and cheers us,

and it is our catechism, and instructs us; we lie down in a hope, that we shall rise the stronger; and we lie down in a knowledge, that we may rise no more. Sleep is an opiate, which gives us rest; but such an opiate, as perchance, being under it, we shall wake no more. But though natural men, who have induced secondary and figurative considerations, have found out this second, this emblematical use of sleep, that it should be a representation of death, God, who wrought and perfected his work, before nature began (for nature was but his apprentice, to learn in the first seven days, and now is his foreman, and works next under him) God, I say, intended sleep only for the refreshing of man by bodily rest, and not for a figure of death, for he intended not death itself then. But man having induced death upon himself God hath taken man's creature, death, into his hand, and mended it; and whereas it hath in itself a fearful form and aspect, so that man is afraid of his own creature, God presents it to him, in a familiar, in an assiduous, in an agreeable, and acceptable form, in sleep, that so when he awakes from sleep, and says to himself, shall I be no otherwise when I am dead, than I was even now, when I was asleep, he may be ashamed of his waking dreams, and of his melancholy fancying out a horrid and an affrightful figure of that death which is so like sleep. As then we need sleep to live out our threescore and ten years, so we need death, to live that life which we cannot outlive. And as death being our enemy, God allows us to defend ourselves against it (for we victual ourselves against death, twice every day, as often as we eat), so God having so

sweetened death unto us, as he hath in sleep, we put ourselves into our enemy's hands once every day, so far, as sleep is death: and sleep is as much death as meat is life.—*Meditations.*

LETTER RESPECTING A REPORT OF HIS OWN DEATH

Sir,—This advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent fevers, that I am so much the oftener at the gates of Heaven; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftener at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness; and I doubt not among his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers. A man would almost be content to die (if there were no other benefit in death) to hear of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony from good men as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death; yet I perceive it went not through all, for one writ to me that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly and, God knows, an ill-grounded interpretation; for I have always been sorrier when I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire, and God may be pleased to grant it, that I might die in the pulpit; if not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit, that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after Candlemas, about which time will fall my Lent Sermon at

Court, except my Lord Chamberlain believe me to be dead, and so leave me out of the roll; but, as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write than you to read; yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much letter. God bless you and your son as I wish.

Your poor friend and servant in Christ Jesus,

J. DONNE.

Walton's Life of Donne.

BEN JONSON

1573–1637

FRANCIS BACON

My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue but rather help to make it manifest.—*Discoveries.*

FOLLIES

What petty things they are we wonder at! like children, that esteem every trifle; and prefer a fairing before their fathers. What difference is between us and them, but that

we are dearer fools: coxcombs at a higher rate? They are pleased with cockle-shells, whistles, hobby-horses, and such like: we with statues, marble pillars, pictures, gilded roofs, where underneath is lath and lime, perhaps loam. Yet we take pleasure in the lie, and are glad we can cozen ourselves. Nor is it only in our walls and ceilings, but all that we call happiness is mere painting and gilt; and all for money: what a thin membrane of honour that is! and how hath all true reputation fallen, since money began to have any. Yet the great herd, the multitude, that in all other things are divided, in this alone conspire and agree,—to love money. They wish for it, they embrace it, they adore it; while yet it is possessed with greater stir and torment than it is gotten.—*Discoveries.*

FORTUNE

Ill Fortune never crushed that man, whom good Fortune deceived not. I therefore have counselled my friends, never to trust to her fairer side, though she seemed to make peace with them; but to place all things she gave them so, as she might ask them again without their trouble; she might take them from them, not pull them: to keep always a distance between her, and themselves. He knows not his own strength that hath not met adversity. Heaven prepares good men with crosses; but no ill can happen to a good man. Contraries are not mixed. Yet that which happens to any man may to every man. But it is in his reason what he accounts it, and will make it.—*Discoveries.*

RELAXATION OF STUDIES

EASE and relaxation are profitable to all studies. The mind is like a bow, the stronger by being unbent. But the temper in spirits is all, when to command a man's wit, when to favour it. I have known a man vehement on both sides; that knew no mean, either to intermit his studies, or call upon them again. When he hath set himself to writing, he would join night to day; press upon himself without release, not minding it, till he fainted; and when he left off, resolve himself into all sports, and looseness again; that it was almost a despair to draw him to his book. But once got to it he grew stronger, and more earnest by the ease. His whole powers were renewed; he would work out of himself, what he desired; but with such excess, as his study could not be ruled: he knew not how to dispose his own abilities, or husband them: he was of that immoderate power against himself. Nor was he only a strong but an absolute speaker and writer; but his subtlety did not show itself; his judgement thought that a vice. For the ambush hurts more that is hid. He never forced his language, nor went out of the highway of speaking, but for some great necessity or apparent profit. For he denied figures to be invented for ornament, but for aid; and still thought it an extreme madness to bend or wrest that which ought to be right.—*Discoveries.*

SHAKESPEARE

I REMEMBER the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a

line. My answer hath been, 'Would he had blotted a thousand,' which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. 'Sufflaminandus erat,' as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so, too! Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him, 'Caesar, thou dost me wrong.' He replied, 'Caesar did never wrong but with just cause'; and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.—*Discoveries.*

A FENCING LESSON

A Room in Cob's *House.* Bobadill *discovered lying on a bench.*

Bobadill. Hostess, hostess!

Enter Tib.

Tib. What say you, sir?

Bobadill. A cup o' thy small beer, sweet hostess.

TIB. Sir, there 's a gentleman below would speak with you.

BOBADILL. A gentleman! 'ods so, I am not within.

TIB. My husband told him you were, sir.

BOBADILL. What a plague—what meant he?

MATTHEW (*below*). Captain Bobadill!

BOBADILL. Who's there?—Take away the basin, good hostess;—Come up, sir.

TIB. He would desire you to come up, sir. You come into a cleanly house, here!

Enter MATTHEW.

MATTHEW. 'Save you, sir; 'save you, captain!

BOBADILL. Gentle master Matthew! Is it you, sir? please you sit down.

MATTHEW. Thank you, good captain; you may see I am somewhat audacious.

BOBADILL. Not so, sir. I was requested to supper last night by a sort of gallants, where you were wished for, and drunk to, I assure you.

MATTHEW. Vouchsafe me, by whom, good captain?

BOBADILL. Marry, by young Wellbred, and others.—Why, hostess, a stool here for this gentleman.

MATTHEW. No haste, sir, 'tis very well.

BOBADILL. Body of me! it was so late ere we parted last night, I can scarce open my eyes yet; I was but new risen, as you came; how passes the day abroad, sir? you can tell.

MATTHEW. Faith, some half hour to seven: Now, trust me, you have an exceeding fine lodging here, very neat, and private.

BOBADILL. Aye, sir: sit down, I pray you.

Master Matthew, in any case possess no gentlemen of our acquaintance with notice of my lodging.

MATTHEW. Who ? I, sir ? no.

BOBADILL. Not that I need to care who know it, for the cabin is convenient ; but in regard I would not be too popular, and generally visited, as some are.

MATTHEW. True, captain, I conceive you.

BOBADILL. For, do you see, sir, by the heart of valour in me, except it be to some peculiar and choice spirits, to whom I am extraordinarily engaged, as yourself, or so, I could not extend thus far.

MATTHEW. O Lord, sir ! I resolve so.

BOBADILL. I confess I love a cleanly and quiet privacy, above all the tumult and roar of fortune. What new book ha' you there ? What ! *Go by, Hieronymo ?*

MATTHEW. Ay : did you ever see it acted ? Is 't not well penned ?

BOBADILL. Well penned ! I would fain see all the poets of these times pen such another play as that was : they'll prate and swagger, and keep a stir of art and devices, when, as I am a gentleman, read 'hem, they are the most shallow, pitiful, barren fellows, that live upon the face of the earth again.

[*While* MASTER MATTHEW *reads*, BOBADILL *makes himself ready.*]

MATTHEW. Indeed here are a number of fine speeches in this book. *O eyes, no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears !* there's a conceit ! *fountains fraught with tears ! O life, no life, but lively form of death !* another. *O world, no world, but*

mass of public wrongs! a third. *Confused and fill'd with murder and misdeeds!* a fourth. O, the muses! Is 't not excellent? Is 't not simply the best that ever you heard, captain? Ha! how do you like it?

BOBADILL. 'Tis good.

MATTHEW.

To thee, the purest object to my sense,
The most refined essence heaven covers,
Send I these lines, wherein I do commence
The happy state of turtle-billing lovers.
If they prove rough, unpolish'd, harsh, and rude,
Haste made the waste: thus mildly I conclude.

BOBADILL. Nay, proceed, proceed. Where's this?

MATTHEW. This, sir! a toy o' mine own, in my nonage; the infancy of my muses. But when will you come and see my study? good faith, I can show you some very good things I have done of late.—That boot becomes your leg passing well, captain, me thinks.

BOBADILL. So, so; it 's the fashion gentlemen now use.

MATTHEW. Troth, captain, an' now you speak o' the fashion, master Wellbred's elder brother and I are fallen out exceedingly: This other day, I happened to enter into some discourse of a hanger, which, I assure you, both for fashion and workmanship, was most peremptory beautiful and gentlemanlike: yet he condemned, and cried it down for the most pied and ridiculous that ever he saw.

BOBADILL. Squire Downright, the half-brother, was 't not?

MATTHEW. Aye, sir, he.

BOBADILL. Hang him, rook! he! why, he has no more judgement than a malt-horse: By St. George, I wonder you'ld loose a thought upon such an animal; the most peremptory absurd clown of Christendom, this day, he is holden. I protest to you, as I am a gentleman and a soldier, I ne'er changed words with his like. By his discourse, he should eat nothing but hay; he was born for the manger, pannier, or pack-saddle. He has not so much as a good phrase in his belly, but all old iron and rusty proverbs: a good commodity for some smith to make hob-nails of.

MATTHEW. Aye, and he thinks to carry it away with his manhood still, where he comes: he brags he will gi' me the bastinado, as I hear.

BOBADILL. How! he the bastinado! how came he by that word, trow?

MATTHEW. Nay, indeed, he said cudgel me; I termed it so, for my more grace.

BOBADILL. That may be: for I was sure it was none of his word; but when, when said he so?

MATTHEW. Faith, yesterday, they say; a young gallant, a friend of mine, told me so.

BOBADILL. By the foot of Pharaoh, and 't were my case now, I should send him a cartel presently. The bastinado! a most proper and sufficient dependence, warranted by the great Caranza. Come hither, you shall cartel him; I'll show you a trick or two you shall kill him with at pleasure; the first stoccata, if you will, by this air.

MATTHEW. Indeed, you have absolute knowledge i' the mystery, I have heard, sir.

BOBADILL. Of whom, of whom ha' you heard it, I beseech you?

MATTHEW. Troth, I have heard it spoken of divers, that you have very rare, and un-in-one-breath-utterable skill, sir.

BOBADILL. By heaven, no, not I; no skill i' the earth; some small rudiments i' the science, as to know my time, distance, or so. I have professed it more for noblemen and gentlemen's use, than mine own practice, I assure you.—Hostess, accommodate us with another bed-staff here, quickly. Lend us another bed-staff—the woman does not understand the words of action.—Look you, sir: exalt not your point above this state, at any hand, and let your poniard maintain your defence, thus:—give it the gentleman, and leave us. [*Exit* TIB.] So, sir. Come on: O, twine your body more about, that you may fall to a more sweet, comely, gentleman-like guard; so! indifferent: hollow your body more, sir, thus: now, stand fast o' your left leg, note your distance, keep your due proportion of time—oh, you disorder your point most irregularly.

MATTHEW. How is the bearing of it now, sir?

BOBADILL. O, out of measure ill: a well-experienced hand would pass upon you at pleasure.

MATTHEW. How mean you, sir, pass upon me?

BOBADILL. Why, thus, sir,—make a thrust at me—[MASTER MATTHEW *pushes at* BOBADILL] come in upon the answer, control your point, and make a full career at the body: The best-practised gallants of the time name it the passadà; a most desperate thrust, believe it.

MATTHEW. Well, come, sir.

BOBADILL. Why, you do not manage your

weapon with any facility or grace to invite me. I have no spirit to play with you; your dearth of judgement renders you tedious.

MATTHEW. But one venue, sir.

BOBADILL. Venue! fie; most gross denomination as ever I heard: O, the stoccata, while you live, sir; note that.—Come, put on your cloak, and we'll go to some private place where you are acquainted; some tavern, or so—and have a bit. I'll send for one of these fencers, and he shall breathe you, by my direction; and then I will teach you your trick: you shall kill him with it at the first, if you please. Why, I will learn you, by the true judgement of the eye, hand, and foot, to control any enemy's point i' the world. Should your adversary confront you with a pistol, 'twere nothing, by this hand! you should, by the same rule, control his bullet, in a line, except it were hail shot, and spread. What money ha' you about you, master Matthew?

MATTHEW. Faith, I ha' not past a two shillings, or so.

BOBADILL. 'Tis somewhat with the least; but come; we will have a bunch of radish and salt to taste our wine, and a pipe of tobacco to close the orifice of the stomach: and then we'll call upon young Wellbred: perhaps we shall meet the Corydon his brother there, and put him to the question.—*Every Man in his Humour*, I. iv.

CAPTAIN BOBADILL ON TOBACCO

SIR, believe me, upon my relation, for what I tell you the world shall not reprove. I have been in the Indies, where this herb grows, where

neither myself, nor a dozen gentlemen more of my knowledge, have received the taste of any other nutriment in the world, for the space of one-and-twenty weeks, but the fume of this simple only: therefore, it cannot be, but 'tis most divine. Further, take it in the nature, in the true kind; so, it makes an antidote, that, had you taken the most deadly poisonous plant in all Italy, it should expel it, and clarify you, with as much ease as I speak. And for your green wound,—your Balsamum and your St. John's wort, are all mere gulleries and trash to it, especially your Trinidado: your Nicotian is good too. I could say what I know of the virtue of it, for the expulsion of rheums, raw humours, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind; but I profess myself no quacksalver. Only thus much; by Hercules, I do hold it, and will affirm it before any prince in Europe, to be the most sovereign and precious weed that ever the earth tendered to the use of man.—*Every Man in his Humour*, III. ii.

JOSEPH HALL

1574–1656

THE BUSYBODY

His estate is too narrow for his mind, and therefore he is fain to make himself room in others' affairs; yet ever, in pretence of love. No news can stir but by his door; neither can he know that which he must not tell. What every man ventures in Guiana voyage, and what they gained, he knows to a hair. Whether Holland will have

peace, he knows; and on what conditions, and with what success, is familiar to him, ere it be concluded. No post can pass him without a question; and rather than he will lose the news, he rides back with him to appose[1] him of tidings: and then to the next man he meets he supplies the wants of his hasty intelligence, and makes up a perfect tale; wherewith he so haunteth the patient auditor, that, after many excuses, he is fain to endure rather the censure of his manners in running away, than the tediousness of an impertinent discourse. His speech is oft broken off with a succession of long parentheses, which he ever vows to fill up ere the conclusion; and perhaps would effect it, if the other's ear were as unweariable as his tongue. If he sees but two men talk, and read a letter in the street, he runs to them, and asks if he may not be partner of that secret relation; and if they deny it, he offers to tell, since he may not hear, wonders; and then falls upon the report of the Scottish mine, or of the great fish taken up at Lynn, or of the freezing of the Thames; and, after many thanks and dismissions, is hardly entreated silence. He undertakes as much as he performs little. This man will thrust himself forward, to be the guide of the way he knows not; and calls at his neighbour's window, and asks why his servants are not at work. The market hath no commodity which he prizeth not, and which the next table shall not hear recited. His tongue, like the tail of Samson's foxes, carries firebrands, and is enough to set the whole field of the world on a flame. Himself begins tabletalk of his neighbour at

[1] question.

another's board; to whom he bears the first news, and adjures him to conceal the reporter: whose choleric answer he returns to his first host, enlarged with a second edition: so, as it uses[1] to be done in the fight of unwilling mastiffs, he claps each on the side apart, and provokes them to an eager conflict. There can no act pass without his comment; which is ever far-fetched, rash, suspicious, dilatory. His ears are long, and his eyes quick; but most of all to imperfections, which as he easily sees, so he increases with intermeddling. He harbours another man's servant; and, amidst his entertainment, asks what fare is usual at home, what hours are kept, what talk passeth their meals, what his master's disposition is, what his government, what his guests: and when he hath by curious inquiries extracted all the juice and spirit of hoped intelligence, turns him off whence he came, and works on a new. He hates constancy, as an earthen dulness, unfit for men of spirit; and loves to change his work and his place: neither yet can he be so soon weary of any place as every place is weary of him: for as he sets himself on work, so others pay him with hatred; and look, how many masters he hath, so many enemies; neither is it possible that any should not hate him but who know him not. So then he labours without thanks; talks without credit; lives without love; dies without tears, without pity; save that some say, 'It was pity he died no sooner.'—*Characters of Virtues and Vices.*

[1] is accustomed.

THE BISHOP STANDS A SIEGE

But after the covenant was appointed to be taken, and was generally swallowed of both clergy and laity, my power of ordination was, with some strange violence, restrained: for when I was going on in my wonted course, which no law or ordinance had inhibited, certain forward volunteers in the city, banding together, stir up the mayor and aldermen and sheriffs to call me to an account for an open violation of their covenant.

To this purpose divers of them came to my gates at a very unseasonable time: and, knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the bishop. Messages were sent to them to know their business: nothing would satisfy them but the bishop's presence. At last I came down to them, and demanded what the matter was: they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me. I answered that I would know them better first: if they had anything to say to me I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a writing to me from Mr. Mayor, and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both 'a challenge of me for breaking covenant, in ordaining ministers; and, withal, required me to give in the names of those, which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the covenant. My answer was, that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would the next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall.

I asked them when they ever heard of a bishop of Norwich appearing before a mayor. I knew mine own place; and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who had given out that day, that had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pulled me and those whom I ordained out of the chapel by the ears.

Whiles I received nothing, yet something was required of me. They were not ashamed, after they had taken away and sold all my goods and personal estate, to come to me for assessments and monthly payments for that estate which they had taken; and took distresses from me upon my most just denial; and vehemently required me to find the wonted arms of my predecessors, when they had left me nothing.

Many insolencies and affronts were, in all this time, put upon us. One while a whole rabble of volunteers came to my gates late, when they were locked up, and called for the porter to give them entrance: which being not yielded, they threatened to make by force: and had not the said gates been very strong, they had done it. Others of them clambered over the walls and would come into mine house; their errand, they said, was to search for delinquents; what they would have done I know not, had not we by a secret way sent to raise the officers for our rescue. Another while, the sheriff Toftes and alderman Linsey, attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures and relics of idolatry, and sent for me to let me know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and

must be demolished. I told them they were the pictures of some ancient and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me that they were so many popes; and one younger man amongst the rest (Townsend, as I perceived afterwards) would take upon him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn; and obtained leave that I might, with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence; which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend.

There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here! what clattering of glasses! what beating down of walls! what tearing up of monuments! what pulling down of seats! what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! what defacing of arms! what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason! what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ-pipes! and what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country; when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-

yard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church. Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire: not without much ostentation of a zealous joy, in discharging ordinance, to the cost of some, who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news, upon this guild-day, to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers waiting for the mayor's return; drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned ale-house.

Still yet I remained in my palace, though with but a poor retinue and means; but the house was held too good for me. Many messages were sent by Mr. Corbet to remove me thence. The first pretence was, that the Committee, who now was at charge for a house to sit in, might make their daily session there; being a place both more public, roomy, and chargeless. The Committee, after many consultations, resolved it convenient to remove thither; though many overtures and offers were made to the contrary. Mr. Corbet was impatient of my stay there; and procures and sends peremptory messages for my present dislodging; we desired to have some time allowed for providing some other mansion, if we must needs be cast out of this; which my wife was so willing to hold that she offered, if the charge of the present committee-house were

the things stood upon, she would be content to defray the sum of the rent of that house of her fifth part: but that might not be yielded; out we must, and that in three weeks' warning by Midsummer Day then approaching: so as we might have lain in the street for aught I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it, that a neighbour in the close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us.

This hath been my measure; wherefore I know not: Lord, thou knowest, who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression.—*Bishop Hall's Hard Measure.*

THOMAS SHELTON

fl. 1612–1620

OF THE DELIGHTFUL PASSAGE OF THE PUPPET-PLAY, AND OTHER PLEASANT MATTERS

Here Tyrians and Trojans were all silent, I mean, all the spectators of the motion had their ears hanged upon the interpreter's mouth, that should declare the wonders; by and by there was a great sound of kettle-drums and trumpets and a volley of great shot within the motion, which passing away briefly, the boy began to raise his voice, and to say:

'This true history which is here represented to you is taken word for word out of the French chronicles and the Spanish Romaunts which are in everybody's mouth and sung by boys up and down the streets. It treats of the liberty that Signior Don Gayferos gave to Melisendra his wife,

that was imprisoned by the Moors in Spain, in the city of Sansuena, which was then so called, and now Saragossa; and look you there, how Don Gayferos is playing at tables, according to the song:

> Now Don Gayferos at tables doth play
> Unmindful of Melisendra away.

And that personage that peeps out there with a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand is the Emperor Charlemagne, the supposed father of the said Melisendra, who, grieved with the sloth and neglect of his son-in-law, comes to chide him: and mark with what vehemency and earnestness he rates him, as if he meant to give him half a dozen connes[1] with his sceptre. Some authors there be that say, he did, and sound ones too: and after he had told him many things concerning the danger of his reputation, if he did not free his spouse, 'twas said he told him, I have said enough, look to it. Look ye, sir, again, how the Emperor turns his back, and in what case he leaves Don Gayferos, who all enraged flings the tables and the table-men from him, and hastily calls for his armour, and borrows his cousin-german Roldan his sword Durindana; who offers him his company in this difficult enterprise. But the valorous enraged knight would not accept it, saying: That he is sufficient to free his spouse, though she were put in the deep centre of the earth: and now he goes in to arm himself for his journey.

'Now turn your eyes to yonder tower that appears (for you must suppose it is one of the towers of the Castle of Saragossa, which is now called the Aliaferia) and that lady that appears in the window

[1] raps.

clad in a Moorish habit, is the peerless Melisendra, that many a time looks toward France, thinking on Paris and her spouse, the only comforts in her imprisonment. Behold also a strange accident now that happens, perhaps never the like seen: see you not that Moor that comes fair and softly, with his finger in his mouth, behind Melisendra? look what a smack he gives her in the midst of her lips, and how suddenly she begins to spit, and to wipe them with her white smock sleeve, and how she laments, and for very anguish dispiteously roots up her fair hairs, as if they were to blame for this wickedness. Mark you also that grave Moor that stands in that open gallery, it is Marsilius King of Sansuenna, who when he saw the Moor's sauciness, although he were a kinsman and great favourite of his, he commanded him straight to be apprehended, and to have two hundred stripes given him, and to be carried through the chief streets in the city, with minstrels before and rods of justice behind; and look ye how the sentence is put in execution before the fault be scarce committed; for your Moors use not (as we do) any legal proceeding.' 'Child, child (cried Don Quixote aloud), on with your story in a direct line, and fall not into your crooks and your transversals; for to verify a thing I tell you there had need be a legal proceeding.' Then Master Peter too said from within: 'Boy, fall not to your flourishes, but do as that gentleman commands you, which is the best course; sing you your plain song, and meddle not with the treble, lest the strings break.' 'I will, Master' (said the boy), and proceeded, saying:

'He that you see there (quoth he) on horseback,

clad in a Gascoigne cloak, is Don Gayferos himself, to whom his wife (now revenged on the Moor for his boldness) shows herself from the battlements of the castle, taking him to be some passenger, with whom she passed all the discourse mentioned in the Romaunt, that says :

> Friend, if toward France you go,
> Ask if Gayferos be there or no, &c.

The rest I omit, for all prolixity is irksome, 'tis sufficient that you see there how Don Gayferos discovers himself, and by Melisendra's jocund behaviour, we may imagine she knows him, and the rather, because now we see, she lets herself down from a bay-window, to ride away behind her good spouse : but alas, unhappy creature, one of the skirts of her kirtle hath caught upon one of the iron bars of the window, and she hovers in the air, without possibility of coming to the ground: but see how pitiful heavens relieve her in her greatest necessity ; for Don Gayferos comes, and without any care of her rich kirtle lays hold of it, and forcibly brings her down with him, and at one hoist sets her astride upon his horse's crupper, and commands her to sit fast, and clap her arms about him, that she fall not ; for Melisendra was not used to that kind of riding. Look you how the horse by his neighing shows that he is proud with the burden of his valiant master and fair mistress. Look how they turn their backs to the city and merrily take their way toward Paris. Peace be with you, O peerless couple of true lovers, safely may you arrive at your desired country, without Fortune's hindering your prosperous voyage : may your friends and kindred see you

enjoy the rest of your years (as many as Nestor's) peaceably.'

Here Master Peter cried out loud again, saying: 'Plainness, good boy, do not you soar so high, this affectation is scurvy.' The Interpreter answered nothing, but went on, saying, 'There wanted not some idle spectators that pry into everything, who saw the going down of Melisendra, and gave Marsilius notice of it, who straight commanded to sound an alarm; and now behold how fast the city even sinks again with the noise of bells that sound in the high towers of the Mesquits.'

'There you are out, boy (said Don Quixote), and Master Peter is very improper in his bells; for amongst Moors you have no bells but kettle-drums, and a kind of shawms that be like our waits, so that your sounding of bells in Sansuenna is a most idle foppery.' 'Stand not upon trifles, Signior Don Quixote,' said Master Peter, 'and so strictly upon everything, for we shall not know how to please you. Have you not a thousand comedies ordinarily represented as full of incongruities and absurdities, and yet they run their career happily, and are heard, not only with applause, but great admiration also? On, boy, say on, and so I fill my purse, let there be as many improprieties as motes in the sun.' 'You are right' (quoth Don Quixote), and the boy proceeded.

'Look what a company of gallant knights go out of the city in pursuit of the Catholic lovers, how many trumpets sound, how many shawms play, how many drums and kettles make a noise, I fear me they will overtake them, and bring them

back both bound to the same horse's tail, which would be a horrible spectacle.'

Don Quixote, seeing and hearing such a deal of Moorism and such a coil, he thought fit to succour those that fled: so standing up, with a loud voice he cried out: 'I will never consent while I live that in my presence such an outrage as this be offered to so valiant and so amorous a bold knight as Don Gayferos. Stay, you base scoundrels, do not ye follow or persecute him: if you do, you must first wage war with me': so doing and speaking, he unsheathed his sword, and at one frisk he got to the motion, and with an unseen and posting fury, he began to rain strokes upon the puppetish Moorism, overthrowing some, and beheading others, maiming this, and cutting in pieces that, and amongst many other blows, he fetched one so downright, that had not Mr. Peter tumbled and squatted down, he had clipped his mazard as easily, as if it had been made of march-pane. Mr. Peter cried out, saying: 'Hold, Signior Don Quixote, hold; and know that these you hurl down, destroy and kill, are not real Moors, but shapes made of paste-board: look you, look ye now (wretch that I am), he spoils all, and undoes me.' But for all this, Don Quixote still multiplied his slashes, doubling and redoubling his blows as thick as hops.

And in a word, in less than two credos he cast down the whole motion (all the tackling first cut to fitters, and all the puppets), King Marsilius was sore wounded, and the Emperor Charlemagne his head and crown were parted in two places, the senate and auditors were all in a hurry, and the ape gat up to the top of the house, and so out

at the window, the scholar was frighted, the page clean dastarded, and even Sancho himself was in a terrible perplexity, for (as he sware after the storm was past) he never saw his master so outrageous.

The general ruin of the motion thus performed, Don Quixote began to be somewhat pacified, and said: 'Now would I have all those here at this instant before me that believe not, how profitable knights errant are to the world; and had not I been now present, what (I marvel) would have become of Signior Don Gayferos and the fair Melisendra? I warrant ere this those dogs would have overtaken and showed them some foul play: when all is done, long live knight errantry, above all things living in the world.'

'Long live it in God's name,' said Mr. Peter, again with a pitiful voice, 'and may I die, since I live to be so unhappy, as to say with King Don Rodrigo, Yesterday I was Lord of all Spain, but to-day have not a battlement I can call mine. 'Tis not yet half an hour, scarce half a minute, that I was master of kings and emperors, had my stables, coffers, and bags full of horses and treasure: but now I am desolate, dejected, and poor, and to add more affliction, without my ape, that before I can catch him again I am like to sweat for it, and all through the inconsiderate furies of this Sir Knight, who is said to protect the fatherless, to rectify wrongs, and to do other charitable works; but to me only this his generous intention hath been defective, I thank God for it. In fine, it could be none but the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance that discountenanced me and mine.' Sancho grew compassionate to hear Master Peter's lamenta-

tion, and said: 'Weep not, nor grieve, Master Peter, for thou breakest my heart; and let me tell thee that my master, Don Quixote, is so scrupulous and Catholical a Christian that if he fall into the reckoning that he have done thee any wrong, he knows how, and will satisfy it with much advantage.' 'If (said Master Peter) Signior Don Quixote would but pay me for some part of the pieces that he hath spoiled, I should be contented, and his worship might not be troubled in conscience: for he that keeps that, that is another man's, against the owner's will, and restores it not, can hardly be saved.'

'That 's true (quoth Don Quixote): but hitherto, Master Peter, I know not whether I have detained aught of yours.' 'No? not?' said Master Peter, 'why these poor relics that lie upon the hard and barren earth, who scattered and annihilated them, but the invincible force of that powerful arm? And whose were those bodies, but mine? And with whom did I maintain myself, but with them?' 'Well, I now (said Don Quixote) verily believe, what I have done often, that the enchanters that persecute me, do nothing but put shapes really as they are before mine eyes, and by and by truck and change them at their pleasures. Verily, my masters, you that hear me, I tell you, all that here passed, seemed to me to be really so, and immediately that that Melisendra was Melisendra; Don Gayferos, Don Gayferos; and Marsilius, Marsilius; and Charlemagne, Charlemagne. And this was it that stirred up my choler; and to accomplish my profession of knight-errant, my meaning was to succour those that fled, and to this good purpose I did all that

you have seen, which if it fell out unluckily, 'twas no fault of mine, but of my wicked persecutors: yet for all this error (though it proceeded from no malice of mine) I myself will condemn myself in the charge; let Master Peter see what he will have for the spoiled pieces, and I will pay it all in present current coin of Castile.'

Master Peter made him a low leg, saying: 'I could expect no less from the unheard-of Christianity of the most valorous Don Quixote de la Mancha, the true succourer and bulwark of all those that be in need and necessity, or wandering vagamunds,[1] and now let the venter[2] and the grand Sancho be arbitrators and price-setters between your worship and me, and let them say what every torn piece was worth.' The venter and Sancho both agreed: and by and by Mr. Peter reached up Marsilius King of Saragossa headless, and said: 'You see how impossible it is for this prince to return to his first being and therefore, saving your better judgements, I think fit to have for him two shillings and threepence.'

'On then,' quoth Don Quixote. 'Then for this (quoth Master Peter) that is parted from head to foot,' taking the Emperor Charlemagne up, 'I think two shillings sevenpence halfpenny is little enough.' 'Not very little,' quoth Sancho. 'Nor much (said the venter): but moderate the bargain and let him have half-a-crown.' 'Let him have his full asking (said Don Quixote), for, for such a mishap as this, we'll ne'er stand upon three halfpence more or less; and make an end quickly, Master Peter, for it is near supper-time, and I have certain suspicions that I shall eat.'

[1] vagabonds. [2] inn-keeper.

'For this puppet (said Mr. Peter) without a nose, and an eye wanting, of the fair Melisendra, I ask but in justice fourteenpence halfpenny.'

'Nay, the devil 's in it (said Don Quixote) if Melisendra be not now in France, or upon the borders, at least, with her husband; for the horse they rode on, to my seeming, rather flew than ran; and therefore sell not me a cat for a coney, presenting me here Melisendra noseless, when she (if the time require it) is wantonly solacing with her husband in France. God give each man his own, Mr. Peter, let us have plain dealing; and so proceed.' Master Peter, that saw Don Quixote in a wrong vein, and that he returned to his old theme, thought yet he should not escape him, and so replied: 'Indeed, this should not be Melisendra, now I think on't; but some one of the damozels that served her, so that fivepence for her will content me.'

Thus he went on pricing of other torn puppets, which the arbitrating judges moderated to the satisfaction of both parties, and the whole prices of all were, twenty-one shillings and elevenpence, which when Sancho had disbursed, Master Peter demanded over and above twelvepence for his labour, to look the ape. 'Give it him, Sancho (said Don Quixote), not to catch his ape, but a monkey, and I would give five pound for a reward to anybody that would certainly tell me, that the Lady Melisendra and Don Gayferos were safely arrived in France, amongst their own people.'

'None can better tell than my ape (said Master Peter), though the Devil himself will scarce catch him; yet I imagine, making much of him, and hunger, will force him to seek me to-night, and

by morning we shall come together.' Well, to conclude: the storm of the motion passed, and all supped merrily, and like good fellows, at Don Quixote's charge, who was liberal in extremity. Before day, the fellow with the lances and halberds was gone, and somewhat after, the scholar and the page came to take leave of Don Quixote, the one to return homeward, and the other to prosecute his intended voyage, and for a relief Don Quixote gave him six shillings.

Master Peter would have no more to do with him; for he knew him too well. So he got up before the sun, and gathering the relics of the motion together, and his ape, he betook him to his adventures. The venter that knew not Don Quixote wondered as much at his liberality as his madness. To conclude, Sancho paid him honestly, by his master's order, and taking leave, about eight of the clock they left the vente,[1] and went on their way, where we must leave them.—*Don Quixote: translated* 1612–20.

SAMUEL PURCHAS

1577–1626

SOME CUSTOMS OF THE GREAT MOGUL AS RELATED BY CAPTAIN HAWKINS

Myself in the time that I was one of his courtiers have seen many cruel deeds done by him. Five times a week he commandeth his brave elephants to fight before him; and in the time of their fighting, either coming or going out, many times men are killed or dangerously hurt

[1] inn.

by these elephants. But if any be grievously hurt, which might very well escape, yet nevertheless that man is cast into the river, himself commanding it, saying, 'Dispatch him, for as long as he liveth he will do nothing else but curse me, and therefore it is better that he die presently.' I have seen many in this kind. Again, he delighteth to see men executed himself, and torn in pieces with elephants. He put to death in my time his Secretary, only upon suspicion that Chan-Channa should write unto the Deccan King, who being sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: whereupon the King, not having patience, arose from his seat, and with his sword gave him his deadly wound, and afterwards delivered him to be torn by elephants.

Likewise it happened to one who was a great friend of mine (a chief man having under his charge the King's wardrobe, and all woollen cloth and all sorts of mercery and his china dishes) that a fair china dish, which cost ninety rupees or forty-five reals of eight, was broken in this my friend's time by a mischance, when the King was in his progress, being packed amongst other things on a camel, which fell and broke all the whole parcel. This nobleman knowing how dearly the King loved this dish above the rest, presently sent one of his trusty servants to China-machina overland to seek for another, hoping that before he should remember that dish he would return with another like unto it, but his evil luck was contrary. For the King two years after remembered this dish, and his man was not yet come. Now when the King heard that the dish was broken, he was in a great rage,

commanding him to be brought before him, and to be beaten by two men, with two great whips made of cords: and after that he had received one hundred and twenty of these lashes, he commanded his porters, who be appointed for that purpose, to beat him with their small cudgels, till a great many of them were broken: at the least twenty men were beating of him, till the poor man was thought to be dead, and then he was haled out by the heels, and commanded to prison. The next day the King demanded whether he was living, answer was made that he was: whereupon he commanded him to be carried unto perpetual prison. But the King's son being his friend, freed him of that, and obtained of his father that he might be sent home to his own house, and there be cured. So after two months, he was reasonably well recovered, and came before the King, who presently commanded him to depart the Court, and never come again before him, until he had found such a like dish, and that he travel for China-machina to seek it: the King allowed him five thousand rupees towards his charges; and besides, returning one-fourth part of his living that he had before to maintain him in his travel. He being departed, and fourteen months on his travel, was not yet come home, but news came of him that the King of Persia had the like dish and for pity's sake hath sent it him, who at my departure was on his way homeward.

Likewise, in my time it happened that a Pattan, a man of good stature, came to one of the King's sons, named Sultan Peruis, to entreat him to bestow somewhat on him, by petition

delivered to one of the Prince's chief men, at the delivery whereof the Prince caused him to come near; and demanding of him whether he would serve him, he answered, No, for he thought that the Prince would not grant him so much as he would ask. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow, and meanly apparelled, smiled, demanding what would content him. He told him plainly that he would neither serve his father nor him under a thousand rupees a day, which is £100 sterling. The Prince asked him what was in him that he demanded so much. He replied, 'Make trial of me with all sorts of weapons, either on horseback or on foot; and for my sufficient command in the wars, if I do not perform as much as I speak, let me die for it.' The hour being come for the Prince to go to his father, he gave over his talk, commanding the man to be forthcoming. At night the King's custom being to drink, the Prince perceiving his father to be merry, told him of this man: so the King commanded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wild lion was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained, and led by a dozen men and keepers: and while the King was viewing this lion, the Pattan came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembered his father. The King, demanding of this Pattan whence he was, and of what parentage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages; his answer was that the King should make trial of him. 'That I will,' said the King; 'go wrestle and buffet with this lion.' The Pattan's answer was that this was a wild beast, and to go barely upon him without weapon would be no trial of

his manhood. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him to buckle with the lion, who did so, wrestling and buffeting with the lion a pretty while. And then the lion, being loose from his keepers but not from his chains, got the poor man within his claws and tore his body in many parts, and with his paws tore the one half of his face, so that this valiant man was killed by this wild beast. The King not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horsemen in pay, being that night on the watch; for it is the custom of all those that receive pay or living from the King to watch once a week, none excepted, if they be well and in the city. These men one after another were to buffet with the lion, who were all grievously wounded and it cost three of them their lives. The King continued three months in this vein, when he was in his humours, for whose pleasure sake many men lost their lives and many were grievously wounded. So that ever after, until my coming away, some fifteen young lions were made tame and played one with another before the King, frisking between men's legs, and no man hurt in a long time.

Likewise, he cannot abide that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusal thereof. His jeweller, a Bannian, named Herranand, had bought a diamond of three mettegals, which cost one hundred thousand rupees, which was not so closely done but news came to the King. Herranand likewise was befriended, being presently acquainted therewith, who, before the King sent for him, came unto him,

and challenged the King that he had often promised him that he would come to his house. The King answered that it was true. Herranand therefore replied that now was the time, for that he had a fair present to bestow upon His Majesty, for that he had bought a stone of such a weight. The King smiled and said, 'Thy luck was good to prevent me.' So preparation was made and to the Bannian's house he went. By this means the King hath engrossed all fair stones, that no man can buy from five carats upwards without his leave, for he hath the refusal of all and giveth not by a third part so much as their value. . . .

Now here I mean to speak a little of his manners and customs in the Court. First in the morning, about the break of day, he is at his beads with his face turned to the westward. The manner of his praying when he is in Agra is in a private fair room upon a goodly jet stone, having only a Persian lambskin under him, having also some eight chains of beads, every one of them containing four hundred. The beads are of rich pearl, ballace rubies, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, lignum aloes, eshem,[1] and coral. At the upper end of this jet stone, the pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone. So he turneth over his beads and saith three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he showeth himself to the people, receiving their salaams or good morrows, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleepeth two hours more and then dineth, and passeth his time with his

[1] some precious stone.

women, and at noon he showeth himself to the people again, sitting till three of the clock, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes. Then at three of the clock all the nobles in general that be in Agra and are well resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat-royal, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of the nobles standing within a red rail and the rest without. They are all placed by his lieutenant-general. This red rail is three steps higher than the place where the rest stand, and within this red rail I was placed among the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place railed, and without that rail stand all sorts of horsemen and soldiers, that belong unto his captains and all other comers. At these rails there are many doors kept by many porters, who have white rods to keep them in order. In the midst of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his sheriffs, together with his master hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen, wearing on their heads a certain quilted cap different from all others, with a hatchet on their shoulders; and others with all sorts of whips being there, ready to do what the King commandeth. The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two hours every day (these kings of India sit daily in justice every day, and on the Tuesdays do their executions). Then he departeth towards the private place of prayer. His prayer being ended, four or five sorts of very well dressed and

roasted meats are brought him, of which as he pleaseth he eateth a bit to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. Then he cometh forth into a private room where none can come, but such as himself nominateth,—for two years together I was one of his attendants here. In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion that the physicians allot him. This done, he eateth opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drink he layeth him down to sleep, every man departing to his own home. And after he hath slept two hours, they awake him and bring his supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himself, but it is thrust into his mouth by others, and this is about one of the clock, and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.

Now in the space of these six cups he doeth many idle things, and whatsoever he doeth, either without or within, drunken or sober, he hath writers who by turn set down everything in writing which he doeth ; so that there is nothing passeth in his lifetime which is not noted, . . . and all this is done unto this end, that when he dieth these writings of all his actions and speeches which are worthy to be set down, might be recorded in the chronicles. At my being with him he made his brother's children Christians, the doing whereof was not for any zeal he had for Christianity, as the Fathers and all Christians thought, but upon the prophecy of certain learned Gentiles, who told him that the sons of his body should be disinherited and the children of his brother should reign. And therefore he did it to make these children hateful to all Moors, as

Christians are odious in their sight, and that they being once Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should find no subjects. But God is omnipotent and can turn the making of these Christians unto a good end, if it be his pleasure. . . .

The custom of the Indians is to burn their dead, as you have read in other authors, and at their burning many of their wives will burn with them, because they will be registered in their books for famous and most modest and loving wives, who leaving all worldly affairs content themselves to live no longer than their husbands. I have seen many proper women brought before the King whom, by his commandment, none may burn without his leave and sight of them—I mean those of Agra. When any of these cometh he doth persuade them with many promises of gifts and living, if they will live, but in my time no persuasion could prevail, but burn they would. The King seeing that all would not serve, giveth his leave for her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth herself alive with her dead husband.—*Purchas, His Pilgrims.*

ROBERT BURTON

1577–1640

CHARITY

This love suffereth long, it is bountiful, envieth not, boasteth not itself, is not puffed up, it deceiveth not, it seeketh not his own things, is not provoked to anger, it thinketh not evil, it rejoiceth not in

iniquity, but in truth. It suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, 1 Cor. 13. 4, 5, 6, 7; *it covereth all trespasses,* Prov. 10. 12, *a multitude of sins,* 1 Pet. 4. as our Saviour told the woman in the Gospel, that washed his feet, *many sins were forgiven her, for she loved much,* Luke 7. 47; *it will defend the fatherless and widow,* Isa. 1. 17; *will seek no revenge, or be mindful of wrong,* Levit. 19. 18; *will bring home his brother's ox if he go astray, as it is commanded,* Deut. 22. 1; *will resist evil, give to him that asketh, and not turn from him that borroweth, bless them that curse him, love his enemy,* Matthew 5, *bear his brother's burden,* Galatians 6. 2. He that so loves will be hospitable, and distribute to the necessities of the saints; he will, if it be possible, have peace with all men, *feed his enemy, if he be hungry, if he be athirst, give him drink;* he will perform those seven works of mercy, *he will make himself equal to them of the lower sort, rejoice with them that rejoice, weep with them that weep,* Rom. 12; he will speak truth to his neighbour, [be] courteous and tender-hearted, *forgiving others for Christ's sake, as God forgave him,* Eph. 4. 32; *he will be like minded,* Phil. 2. 2; *of one judgement; be humble, meek, long-suffering,* Colos. 3, *forbear, forget and forgive,* 12, 13, 23, and what he doth shall be heartily done to God, and not to men. *Be pitiful and courteous,* 1 Pet. 3, *seek peace and follow it.* He will love his brother, not in word and tongue, but in deed and truth, [1] Joh. 3. 18, *and he that loves God, Christ will love him that is begotten of him,* [1] Joh. 5. 1, &c. Thus should we willingly do, if we had a true touch of this charity, of this divine love, if we would perform

this which we are enjoined, forget and forgive, and compose ourselves to those Christian Laws of Love.

> O felix hominum genus,
> Si vestros animos amor
> Quo cœlum regitur regat !

Angelical souls, how blessed, how happy should we be, how might we triumph over the devil, and have another heaven upon earth !

But this we cannot do ; and which is the cause of all our woes, miseries, discontent, melancholy, want of this charity. We do *invicem angariare*, contemn, insult, vex, torture, molest, and hold one another's nose to the grindstone hard, provoke, rail, scoff, calumniate, challenge, hate, abuse (hard-hearted, implacable, malicious, peevish, inexorable as we are), to satisfy our lust or private spleen, for toys, trifles, and impertinent occasions, spend ourselves, goods, friends, fortunes, to be revenged on our adversary, to ruin him and his. 'Tis all our study, practice, and business, how to plot mischief, mine, countermine, defend and offend, ward ourselves, injure others, hurt all ; as if we were born to do mischief ; and that with such eagerness and bitterness, with such rancour, malice, rage, and fury, we prosecute our intended designs, that neither affinity or consanguinity, love or fear of God or men can contain us : no satisfaction, no composition will be accepted, no offices will serve, no submission ; though he shall upon his knees, as Sarpedon did to Glaucus in Homer, acknowledging his error, yield himself with tears in his eyes, beg his pardon, we will not relent, forgive, or forget, till we have confounded him and his, *made dice of his bones*,

as they say, see him rot in prison, banish his friends, followers, *et omne invisum genus*, rooted him out and all his posterity. Monsters of men as we are, dogs, wolves, tigers, fiends, incarnate devils, we do not only contend, oppress, and tyrannize ourselves, but, as so many fire-brands, we set on, and animate others: our whole life is a perpetual combat, a conflict, a set battle, a snarling fit: *Eris dea* is settled in our tents, *Omnia de lite*, opposing wit to wit, wealth to wealth, strength to strength, fortunes to fortunes, friends to friends, as at a sea-fight, we turn our broadsides, or two millstones with continual attrition, we fire ourselves, or break another's backs, and both are ruined and consumed in the end. Miserable wretches to fat and enrich ourselves, we care not how we get it, *quocunque modo rem*, how many thousands we undo, whom we oppress, by whose ruin and downfall we arise, whom we injure, fatherless children, widows, common societies, to satisfy our own private lust. Though we have myriads, abundance of wealth and treasure (pitiless, merciless, remorseless, and uncharitable in the highest degree), and our poor brother in need, sickness, in great extremity, and now ready to be starved for want of food, we had rather, as the fox told the ape, his tail should sweep the ground still, than cover his buttocks; rather spend it idly, consume it with dogs, hawks, hounds, unnecessary buildings, in riotous apparel, ingurgitate, or let it be lost, than he should have part of it; rather take from him that little which he hath than relieve him.

Like the dog in the manger, we neither use it ourselves, let others make use of, or enjoy it;

part with nothing while we live: for want of disposing our household, and setting things in order, set all the world together by the ears after our death. Poor Lazarus lies howling at his gates for a few crumbs, he only seeks chippings, offals; let him roar and howl, famish, and eat his own flesh, he respects him not. A poor decayed kinsman of his sets upon him by the way in all his jollity, and runs begging bareheaded by him, conjuring by those former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, &c., uncle, cousin, brother, father,

> . . . Per ego has lacrimas, dextramque tuam te,
> Si quidquam de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
> Dulce meum, misere mei.

Show some pity for Christ's sake, pity a sick man, an old man, &c., he cares not, ride on: pretend sickness, inevitable loss of limbs, goods, plead suretyship, or shipwreck, fires, common calamities, show thy wants and imperfections,

> Et si per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim,
> Credite, non ludo, crudeles, tollite claudum.

Swear, protest, take God and all his Angels to witness, *quaere peregrinum*, thou art a counterfeit crank, a cheater, he is not touched with it, *pauper ubique jacet*, ride on, he takes no notice of it. Put up a supplication to him in the name of a thousand orphans, an hospital, a spittle, a prison as he goes by, they cry out to him for aid, ride on, *surdo narras*, he cares not, let them eat stones, devour themselves with vermin, rot in their own dung, he cares not. Show him a decayed haven, a bridge, a school, a fortification, &c., or some public work, ride on; good your

worship, your honour, for God's sake, your country's sake, ride on. But show him a roll wherein his name shall be registered in golden letters, and commended to all posterity, his arms set up, with his devices to be seen, then peradventure he will stay and contribute; or if thou canst thunder upon him, as Papists do, with satisfactory and meritorious works, or persuade him by this means he shall save his soul out of Hell, and free it from Purgatory (if he be of any religion), then in all likelihood he will listen and stay; or that he have no children, no near kinsman, heir, he cares for at least, or cannot well tell otherwise how or where to bestow his possessions (for carry them with him he cannot), it may be then he will build some school or hospital in his life, or be induced to give liberally to pious uses after his death. For, I dare boldly say, vainglory, that opinion of merit, and this enforced necessity, when they know not otherwise how to leave, or what better to do with them, is the main cause of most of our good works. I will not urge this to derogate from any man's charitable devotion, or bounty in this kind, to censure any good work; no doubt there be many sanctified, heroical, and worthy-minded men, that in true zeal, and for virtue's sake (divine spirits), that out of commiseration and pity extend their liberality, and, as much as in them lies, do good to all men, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the sick and needy, relieve all, forget and forgive injuries, as true charity requires; yet most part there is *simulatum quid*, a deal of hypocrisy in this kind, much default and defect. Cosmus Medices, that rich

citizen of Florence, ingenuously confessed to a near friend of his, that would know of him why he built so many public and magnificent palaces, and bestowed so liberally on scholars, not that he loved learning more than others, *but to eternize his own name, to be immortal by the benefit of scholars; for when his friends were dead, walls decayed, and all Inscriptions gone, books would remain to the world's end.* The lanthorn in Athens was built by Xenocles, the theatre by Pericles, the famous port Piraeum by Musicles, Pallas Palladium by Phidias, the Parthenon by Callicratidas; but these brave monuments are decayed all, and ruined long since, their builders' names alone flourish by mediation of writers. And as he said of that Marian oak, now cut down and dead, *nullius Agricolae manu culta stirps tam diuturna, quam quae poetae versu seminari potest,* no plant can grow so long as that which is *ingenio sata,* set and manured by those ever-living wits. *Allon-bachuth,* that weeping oak under which Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, died, and was buried, may not survive the memory of such everlasting monuments. Vainglory and emulation (as to most men) was the cause efficient, and to be a trumpeter of his own fame, Cosmus' sole intent so to do good, that all the world might take notice of it. Such for the most part is the charity of our times, such our benefactors, Maecenates and patrons.—*Anatomy of Melancholy.*

SYMPTOMS OF LOVE

A king's palace was not so diligently attended, saith Aretine's Lucretia, *as my house was when I lay in Rome,* the porch and street was ever full

of some, walking or riding, on set purpose to see me, their eye was still upon my window as they passed by, they could not choose but look back to my house when they were past, and sometimes hem, or cough, or take some impertinent occasion to speak aloud, that I might look out and observe them. 'Tis so in other places, 'tis common to every lover, 'tis all his felicity to be with her, to talk with her, he is never well but in her company, and will walk *seven or eight times a day through the street where she dwells, and make sleeveless errands to see her*, plotting still where, when, and how to visit her,

> Lenesque sub noctem susurri
> Composita repetuntur hora.

And when he is gone, he thinks every minute an hour, every hour as long as a day, ten days a whole year, till he see her again.

> Tempora si numeres, bene quae numeramus amantes.

And if thou be in love, thou wilt say so too, *Et longum formosa vale*, farewell, sweetheart, *vale carissima Argenis*, &c. Farewell, my dearest Argenis, once more farewell, farewell. And though he is to meet her by compact, and that very shortly, perchance to-morrow, yet loath to depart, he'll take his leave again and again, and then come back again, look after, and shake his hand, wave his hat afar off. Now gone, he thinks it long till he see her again, and she him, the clocks are surely set back, the hour 's past.

> Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodopeia Phyllis
> Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror.

She looks out at window still to see whether he

come, and by report Phyllis went nine times to the sea-side that day, to see if her Demophoon were approaching, and Troilus to the city gates, to look for his Creisseid. She is ill at ease, and sick till she see him again, peevish in the meantime, discontent, heavy, sad, and why comes he not? where is he? why breaks he promise? why tarries he so long? sure he is not well; sure he hath some mischance, sure he forgets himself and me, with infinite such. And then confident again, up she gets, out she looks, listens and inquires, hearkens, kens; every man afar off is sure he, every stirring in the street, now he is there, that's he, *male aurorae, male soli dicit, dejeratque*, &c., the longest day that ever was; so she raves, restless and impatient; for *amor non patitur moras*, love brooks no delays: the time's quickly gone that's spent in her company, the miles short, the way pleasant, all weather is good whilst he goes to her house, heat or cold, though his teeth chatter in his head, he moves not, wet or dry, 'tis all one; wet to the skin, he feels it not, cares not at least for it, but will easily endure it, and much more, because it is done with alacrity, and for his mistress' sweet sake; let the burthen be never so heavy, Love makes it light. Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and it was quickly gone, because he loved her. None so merry, if he may happily enjoy her company, he is in heaven for a time; and if he may not, dejected in an instant, solitary, silent, he departs weeping, lamenting, sighing, complaining.—*Anatomy of Melancholy.*

CURE OF LOVE-MELANCHOLY (1)

If you suspect to be taken, be sure, saith the poet, to have two mistresses at once, or go from one to another. As he that goes from a good fire in cold weather is loath to depart from it, though in the next room there be a better, which will refresh him as much; there 's as much difference of *haec* as *hic ignis*; or bring him to some public shows, plays, meetings, where he may see variety, and he shall likely loathe his first choice: carry him but to the next town, yea, peradventure to the next house, and as Paris lost Oenone's love by seeing Helena, and Cressida forsook Troilus by conversing with Diomede, he will dislike his former mistress, and leave her quite behind him, as Theseus left Ariadne fast asleep in the island of Dia, to seek her fortune, that was erst his loving mistress. *Nunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsi*, as he said, Doris is but a dowdy to this. As he that looks himself in a glass forgets his physiognomy forthwith, this flattering glass of love will be diminished by remove; after a little absence it will be remitted, the next fair object will likely alter it. A young man in Lucian was pitifully in love, he came to the theatre by chance, and by seeing other fair objects there, *mentis sanitatem recepit*, was fully recovered, *and went merrily home, as if he had taken a dram of oblivion.* A mouse (saith an Apologer) was brought up in a chest, there fed with fragments of bread and cheese, thought there could be no better meat, till coming forth at last, and feeding liberally of other variety of viands, loathed his former life: moralize this fable by thyself.

Plato, in his seventh book *De Republica*, hath a pretty fiction of a city underground, to which by little holes some small store of light came; the inhabitants thought there could not be a better place, and at their first coming abroad they might not endure the light, *aegerrime solem intueri*; but, after they were accustomed a little to it, *they deplored their fellows' misery that lived underground*. A silly lover is in like state, none so fair as his mistress at first, he cares for none but her; yet after a while, when he hath compared her with others, he abhors her name, sight, and memory. 'Tis generally true; for as he observes, *priorem flammam novus ignis extrudit; et ea mulierum natura, ut praesentes maxime ament*, one fire drives out another, and such is women's weakness, that they love commonly him that is present. And so do many men (as he confessed), he loved Amy till he saw Flora, and when he saw Cynthia, forgat them both: but fair Phyllis was incomparably beyond them all, Chloris surpassed her, and yet when he espied Amaryllis, she was his sole mistress; O divine Amaryllis! *quam procera, cupressi ad instar, quam elegans, quam decens!* &c. How lovely, how tall, how comely she was (saith Polemius) till he saw another, and then she was the sole subject of his thoughts.—*Anatomy of Melancholy.*

CURE OF LOVE-MELANCHOLY (2)

Yea, but you will infer, your mistress is complete, of a most absolute form in all men's opinions, no exceptions can be taken at her, nothing may be added to her person, nothing

detracted, she is the mirror of women for her beauty, comeliness, and pleasant grace, unimitable, *merae deliciae, meri lepores*, she is *Myrothecium Veneris, Gratiarum pyxis*, a mere magazine of natural perfections, she hath all the Veneres and Graces,

. . . mille faces et mille figuras,

in each part absolute and complete,

Laeta genas, laeta os roseum, vaga lumina laeta :

to be admired for her person, a most incomparable, unmatchable piece, *aurea proles, ad simulacrum alicujus numinis composita*, a phœnix, *vernantis aetatulae Venerilla*, a nymph, a fairy, like Venus herself when she was a maid, *nulli secunda*, a mere quintessence, *flores spirans et amaracum, foeminae prodigium :* put case she be, how long will she continue ?

Florem decoris singuli carpunt dies.

Every day detracts from her person, and this beauty is *bonum fragile*, a mere flash, a Venice glass, quickly broken,

Anceps forma bonum mortalibus,
. . . exigui donum breve temporis,

it will not last. As that fair flower Adonis, which we call an Anemone, flourisheth but one month, this gracious, all-commanding beauty fades in an instant. It is a jewel soon lost, the painter's goddess, *falsa veritas*, a mere picture. *Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity*, Prov. 31. 30.

Vitrea gemmula, fluxaque bullula, candida forma est,
Nix, rosa, ros, fumus, ventus et aura, nihil.

A little gem, bubble, is beauty pale,
A rose, dew, snow, smoke, wind, air, naught at all.

If she be fair, as the saying is, she is commonly a fool; if proud, scornful, *sequiturque superbia formam*, or dishonest, *rara est concordia formae atque pudicitiae, can she be fair and honest too?* Aristo, the son of Agasicles, married a Spartan lass, the fairest lady in all Greece next to Helen, but for her conditions, the most abominable and beastly creature of the world. So that I would wish thee to respect, with Seneca, not her person, but qualities. *Will you say that's a good blade, which hath a gilded scabbard, embroidered with gold and jewels? No, but that which hath a good edge and point, well-tempered metal, able to resist.* This beauty is of the body alone, and what is that, but as Gregory Nazianzen telleth us, *a mock of time and sickness?* or as Boethius, *as mutable as a flower, and 'tis not nature so makes us, but most part the infirmity of the beholder.* For ask another, he sees no such matter: *Dic mihi per gratias qualis tibi videtur*, I pray thee tell me how thou likest my sweetheart, as she asked her sister in Aristaenetus, *whom I so much admire, methinks he is the sweetest gentleman, the properest man that ever I saw: but I am in love, I confess* (nec pudet fateri) *and cannot therefore well judge.* But be she fair indeed, golden-haired, as Anacreon his Bathyllus (to examine particulars) she have

Flammeolos oculos, collaque lacteola,

a pure sanguine complexion, little mouth, coral lips, white teeth, soft and plump neck, body, hands, feet, all fair and lovely to behold, composed of all graces, elegances, an absolute piece,

Lumina sint Melitae Junonia, dextra Minervae,
Mamillae Veneris, sura maris dominae, &c.

Let her head be from Prague, paps out of Austria, belly from France, back from Brabant, hands out of England, feet from Rhine, buttocks from Switzerland, let her have the Spanish gait, the Venetian tire, Italian compliment and endowments ;

> Candida sideriis ardescant lumina flammis,
> Fundant colla rosas, et cedat crinibus aurum,
> Mellea purpureum depromant ora ruborem ;
> Fulgeat, ac Venerem coelesti corpore vincat,
> Forma dearum omnis, &c.

Let her be such a one throughout, as Lucian deciphers in his *Imagines* ; as Euphranor of old painted Venus, Aristaenetus describes Lais, another Helena, Chariclea, Leucippe, Lucretia, Pandora ; let her have a box of beauty to repair herself still, such a one as Venus gave Phaon, when he carried her over the ford ; let her use all helps Art and Nature can yield ; be like her, and her, and whom thou wilt, or all these in one ; a little sickness, a fever, small-pox, wound, scar, loss of an eye, or limb, a violent passion, a distemperature of heat or cold, mars all in an instant, disfigures all ; child-bearing, old age, that tyrant Time will turn Venus to Erinnys ; raging Time, care, rivels[1] her upon a sudden ; after she hath been married a small while, and the black ox hath trodden on her toe, she will be so much altered, and wax out of favour, thou wilt not know her. One grows too fat, another too lean, &c., modest Matilda, pretty pleasing Peg, sweet singing Susan, mincing merry Moll, dainty dancing Doll, neat Nancy, jolly Joan, nimble Nell, kissing Kate, bouncing Bess with black eyes, fair Phyllis with fine white hands, fiddling Frances, tall Tib,

[1] wrinkles.

slender Sib, &c., will quickly lose their grace, grow fulsome, stale, sad, heavy, dull, sour, and all at last out of fashion. *Ubi jam vultus argutia, suavis suavitatio, blandus risus,* &c. Those fair sparkling eyes will look dull, her soft coral lips will be pale, dry, cold, rough, and blue, her skin rugged, that soft and tender *superficies* will be hard and harsh, her whole complexion change in a moment, and as Matilda writ to King John,

> I am not now as when thou saw'st me last,
> That favour soon is vanished and past :
> That rosy blush lapt in a lily vale,
> Now is with morphew[1] overgrown and pale.

'Tis so in the rest, their beauty fades as a tree in winter, which Deianira hath elegantly expressed in the Poet :

> Deforme solis aspicis truncis nemus ?
> Sic nostra longum forma percurrens iter,
> Deperdit aliquid semper, et fulget minus,
> Malisque minus est quicquid in nobis fuit,
> Olim petitum cecidit, et partu labat,
> Materque multum rapuit ex illa mihi
> Aetas citato senior eripuit gradu.
>
> And as a tree that in the green wood grows,
> With fruit and leaves, and in the Summer blows,
> In Winter like a stock deformed shows :
> Our beauty takes his race and journey goes,
> And doth decrease, and lose, and come to nought,
> Admir'd of old, to this by childbirth brought :
> And mother hath bereft me of my grace,
> And crooked old age coming on apace.
>
> *Anatomy of Melancholy.*

[1] scurfy eruption.

FRANCIS BEAUMONT (1584–1616)

AND

JOHN FLETCHER (1579–1625)

OLD MERRYTHOUGHT

MERRYTHOUGHT [*sings*].

Nutmegs and ginger, cinnamon and cloves;
And they gave me this jolly red nose.

MISTRESS MERRYTHOUGHT. If you would consider your state, you would have little list to sing, i-wis.

MERRYTHOUGHT. It should never be considered, while it were an estate, if I thought it would spoil my singing.

MISTRESS MERRYTHOUGHT. But how wilt thou do, Charles? thou art an old man, and thou canst not work, and thou hast not forty shillings left, and thou eatest good meat, and drinkest good drink, and laughest.

MERRYTHOUGHT. And will do.

MISTRESS MERRYTHOUGHT. But how wilt thou come by it, Charles?

MERRYTHOUGHT. How? why, how have I done hitherto this forty years? I never came into my dining-room, but, at eleven and six o'clock, I found excellent meat and drink o' th' table; my clothes were never worn out, but next morning a tailor brought me a new suit: and without question it will be so ever; use makes perfectness. If all should fail, it is but a little straining myself extraordinary, and laugh myself to death. —*The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I. iv.

A POLTROON

A Room in the House of BESSUS.

Enter a Gentleman.

GENT. Good-morrow, Captain Bessus.

BESSUS. Good-morrow, sir.

GENT. I come to speak with you——

BESSUS. You're very welcome.

GENT. From one that holds himself wronged by you some three years since. Your worth, he says, is famed, and he doth nothing doubt but you will do him right, as beseems a soldier.

BESSUS. A pox on 'em, so they cry all! [*Aside*].

GENT. And a slight note I have about me for you, for the delivery of which you must excuse me: it is an office that friendship calls upon me to do, and no way offensive to you; since I desire but right on both sides. [*Gives him a letter.*

BESSUS. 'Tis a challenge, sir, is it not?

GENT. 'Tis an inviting to the field.

BESSUS. An inviting? Oh, cry you mercy!—What a compliment he delivers it with! he might, as agreeably to my nature, present me poison with such a speech. [*Aside.*] Um, um, um—*Reputation*—um, um, um—*call you to account*—um, um, um—*forced to this*—um, um, um—*with my sword*—um, um, um—*like a gentleman*—um, um, um—*dear to me*—um, um, um—*satisfaction.*—'Tis very well, sir; I do accept it; but he must await an answer this thirteen weeks.

GENT. Why, sir, he would be glad to wipe off his stain as soon as he could.

BESSUS. Sir, upon my credit, I am already engaged to two hundred and twelve; all which

must have their stains wiped off, if that be the word, before him.

GENT. Sir, if you be truly engaged but to one, he shall stay a competent time.

BESSUS. Upon my faith, sir, to two hundred and twelve: And I have a spent body, too much bruised in battle; so that I cannot fight, I must be plain, above three combats a day. All the kindness I can show him is to set him resolvedly in my roll, the two hundred and thirteenth man, which is something; for, I tell you, I think there will be more after him than before him; I think so. Pray you commend me to him, and tell him this.

GENT. I will, sir. Good-morrow to you.

[*Exit Gentleman.*

BESSUS. Good-morrow, good sir.—Certainly, my safest way were to print myself a coward, with a discovery how I came by my credit, and clap it upon every post. I have received above thirty challenges within this two hours: Marry, all but the first I put off with engagement; and, by good fortune, the first is no madder of fighting than I; so that that's referred. The place where it must be ended is four days' journey off, and our arbitrators are these; he has chosen a gentleman in travel, and I have a special friend with a quartain ague, like to hold him this five year, for mine; and when his man comes home, we are to expect my friend's health. If they would send me challenges thus thick, as long as I lived, I would have no other living: I can make seven shillings a-day o' th' paper to the grocers. Yet I learn nothing by all these, but a little skill in comparing of styles: I do find evidently, that there is some one scrivener in this town, that has a great hand in writing of

challenges, for they are all of a cut, and six of 'em in a hand; and they all end, 'My reputation is dear to me, and I must require satisfaction.'— Who's there? more paper, I hope. No; 'tis my lord Bacurius. I fear, all is not well betwixt us.

Enter BACURIUS.

BACURIUS. Now, Captain Bessus! I come about a frivolous matter, caused by as idle a report: You know, you were a coward.

BESSUS. Very right.

BACURIUS. And wrong'd me.

BESSUS. True, my lord.

BACURIUS. But now, people will call you valiant; desertlessly, I think; yet, for their satisfaction, I will have you fight with me.

BESSUS. Oh, my good lord, my deep engagements——

BACURIUS. Tell not me of your engagements, Captain Bessus! It is not to be put off with an excuse. For my own part, I am none of the multitude that believe your conversion from coward.

BESSUS. My lord, I seek not quarrels, and this belongs not to me; I am not to maintain it.

BACURIUS. Who then, pray?

BESSUS. Bessus the coward wrong'd you.

BACURIUS. Right.

BESSUS. And shall Bessus the valiant maintain what Bessus the coward did?

BACURIUS. I prythee leave these cheating tricks! I swear thou shalt fight with me, or thou shalt be beaten extremely, and kick'd.

BESSUS. Since you provoke me thus far, my lord, I will fight with you; and, by my sword, it

shall cost me twenty pounds, but I will have my leg well a week sooner purposely.

BACURIUS. Your leg! why, what ails your leg? I'll do a cure on you. Stand up! [*Kicks him.*

BESSUS. My lord, this is not noble in you.

BACURIUS. What dost thou with such a phrase in thy mouth? I will kick thee out of all good words before I leave thee. [*Kicks him.*

BESSUS. My lord, I take this as a punishment for the offence I did when I was a coward.

BACURIUS. When thou wert? confess thyself a coward still, or, by this light, I'll beat thee into sponge.

BESSUS. Why, I am one.

BACURIUS. Are you so, sir? and why do you wear a sword then? Come, unbuckle! quick!

BESSUS. My lord?

BACURIUS. Unbuckle, I say, and give it me; or, as I live, thy head will ache extremely.

BESSUS. It is a pretty hilt; and if your lordship take an affection to it, with all my heart I present it to you, for a new-year's gift.

[*Gives him his sword, with a knife in the scabbard.*

BACURIUS. I thank you very heartily, sweet captain! Farewell.

BESSUS. One word more: I beseech your lordship to render me my knife again.

BACURIUS. Marry, by all means, captain. [*Gives him back the knife.*] Cherish yourself with it, and eat hard, good captain! we cannot tell whether we shall have any more such. Adieu, dear captain! [*Exit* BACURIUS.

A King and no King, III. ii.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY

1581–1613

A FRANKLIN

His outside is an ancient yeoman of England, though his inside may give arms (with the best gentlemen) and never see the herald. There is no truer servant in the house than himself. Though he be master, he says not to his servants, 'Go to field,' but, 'Let us go'; and with his own eye doth both fatten his flock and set forward all manner of husbandry. He is taught by nature to be contented with a little; his own folds yield him both food and raiment: he is pleased with any nourishment God sends, whilst curious gluttony ransacks, as it were, Noah's ark for food, only to feed the riot of one meal. He is never known to go to law; understanding to be law-bound among men is like to be hide-bound among his beasts; they thrive not under it: and that such men sleep as unquietly as if their pillows were stuffed with lawyers' penknives. When he builds, no poor tenant's cottage hinders his prospect: they are indeed his almshouses, though there be painted on them no such superscription: he never sits up late, but when he hunts the badger, the vowed foe of his lambs: nor uses he any cruelty, but when he hunts the hare; nor subtilty, but when he setteth snares for the snipe or pitfalls for the blackbird; nor oppression, but when in the month of July he goes to the next river and shears his sheep. He allows of honest pastime, and thinks not the bones of the dead anything bruised, or the worse for it, though the country lasses dance in the church-

yard after evensong. Rock Monday, and the wake in summer, shrovings, the wakeful catches on Christmas Eve, the hoky, or seed-cake, these he yearly keeps, yet holds them no relics of Popery. He is not so inquisitive after news derived from the privy closet, when the finding of an aerie of hawks in his own ground, or the foaling of a colt come of a good strain, are tidings more pleasant, and more profitable. He is lord paramount within himself, though he hold by never so mean a tenure; and dies the more contentedly (though he leave his heir young), in regard he leaves him not liable to a covetous guardian. Lastly, to end him: he cares not when his end comes, he needs not fear his audit, for his quietus is in heaven.—*Characters.*

A TINKER

Is a movable: for he hath no abiding place. By his motion he gathers heat, thence his choleric nature. He seems to be very devout, for his life is a continual pilgrimage, and sometimes in humility goes barefoot, thereof making necessity a virtue. His house is as ancient as Tubal Cain's, and so is [he] a runagate by antiquity: yet he proves himself a gallant, for he carries all his wealth upon his back; or a philosopher, for he bears all his substance about him. From his art was music first invented, and therefore is he always furnished with a song: to which his hammer keeping time, proves that he was the first founder of the kettle-drum. Note that where the best ale is, there stands his music most upon crotchets. The companion of his travels is some foul sunburnt queen, that since the terrible statute recanted gipsyism,

and is turned pedlaress. So marches he all over England with his bag and baggage. His conversation is unreprovable, for he is ever mending. He observes truly the statutes, and therefore he can rather steal than beg, in which he is unremovably constant, in spite of whips or imprisonment: and a so strong enemy to idleness, that in mending one hole he had rather make three than want work, and when he hath done he throws the wallet of his faults behind him. He embraceth naturally ancient custom, conversing in open fields and lowly cottages. If he visit cities or towns, 'tis but to deal upon the imperfections of our weaker vessels. His tongue is very voluble, which with canting proves him a linguist. He is entertained in every place, but enters no further than the door, to avoid suspicion. Some would take him to be a coward; but believe it, he is a lad of mettle; his valour is commonly three or four yards long, fastened to a pike in the end for flying off. He is very provident for he will fight but with one at once, and then also he had rather submit than be counted obstinate. To conclude, if he 'scape Tyburn and Banbury, he dies a beggar.—*Characters.*

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

1583–1648

SIMONY EVADED BY A WAGER

Shortly after which, William, another brother of the Earl and Abbot of Holyrood, languished and at last died of grief. Into whose place succeeded a man, who, to avoid the crime of being a simoniac,

used this notable trick, as Buchanan hath it: for hearing that the said William was at the point of death, he lays a great sum of money as a wager with the king (of Scots) that he should not have the donation of the next Abbey that fell. The king, though young, understood his meaning, and as he wanted money at that time, was content to win the wager and lose the Abbey.—*Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.*

ON CERTAIN IMAGES AND RELICS

And here out of our records I shall mention some of the images and relics to which the pilgrimages of those times brought devotion and offerings, as our Lady's girdle, showed in eleven different places, and her milk in eight; the bell of St. Guthlac, and the belt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, both remedies for the headache; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and a piece of his shirt, much reverenced by great-bellied women; the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; two or three heads of St. Ursula; Malchus his ear; and the paring of St. Edmund's nails; the image of an angel with one wing which brought hither the spear's head that pierced Christ's side; an image of our Lady with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without wasting, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of wood: our Lady of Worcester, from which certain veils and dressings being taken, there appeared the statue of a bishop ten foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great ostentation showed to the people; among which were two

notable trumperies I cannot omit: one was the rood of grace at Boxley in Kent, which being made with divers vices to turn the eyes and move the lips, was showed publicly at Paul's Cross by John, Bishop of Rochester, and there broken and pulled in pieces. The other was at Hales in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Jesus Christ brought from Jerusalem, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers ages, has drawn many great offerings to it from remote places; and it was said to have this property, that if a man were in mortal sin, and not absolved, he could not see it, otherwise very well. Therefore, every man that came to behold this miracle confessed himself first to a priest there, and then offering something to the altar, was directed to a chapel where the relic was showed; the priest who confessed him in the meanwhile retiring himself to the back part of the said chapel, and putting forth a cabinet or tabernacle of crystal, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen through it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversely; for if a rich and devout man entered, they would show the thick side, till he had paid for as many masses, and given as large alms as they thought fit; after which (to his great joy) they permitted him to see the thin side, and the blood. Which yet, as my author (a clerk of the council to Edward VI, and living in those times) affirms, was proved to be the blood of a duck, every week renewed by the priests, who kept the secret betwixt them. Besides which, the images of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Penrise, of Islington, and St. John of Osulston (called otherwise Mr. John Shorne), who was said to shut up the Devil in a boot; and divers

others were publicly burnt ; insomuch that a huge image called Darvel Gadern being fetched out of Wales served to burn Friar Forrest (condemned for counselling people in confession not to believe the king's supremacy), and to elude I know not what old blind prophecy.—*Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.*

JESUITICAL ORDER FOUNDED BY IGNATIUS LOYOLA

I WILL conclude this year with a narration of the first beginning which the Jesuitical order took from Inigo de Loyola of Guipascoa in Spain. This Inigo or Ignatius being born 1592 (that is to say, in the year that the Indies were discovered, and Granada taken in by Ferdinand) seems the third great effect of that unparalleled ascendant which Spain had at that time. He lived yet obscurely till he came to twenty-nine years of age, but then turned soldier in the wars of Navarre, 1521 ; where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof seems to have wakened devotion in him to a religious life ; for as soon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of Monserrat, to whom he offered his sword and dagger, which being done, he gave his clothes away to a poor man, and took upon him a shirt and miserable habit, which he girt about him with a rope of rushes, and in these arms (for so are Sandoval's words) he watched one whole night before our Lady, and so went to an hospital three leagues off, and there attended the sick persons, whence he travelled after to the Holy Land ; being returned thence, and now in his age of thirty-three he began to learn grammar at Barcelona, which

in two years he attained. And being desirous to make further progress, he went to the University of Alcala, and so to Salamanca, where being opposed and persecuted, he left all and came to Paris, and there studied till he had found at last divers others with whom he agreed to return in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and Jerusalem. Thus about 1536 going first to Venice, he stayed till his companions overtook him, and went from thence to Rome, whither he followed them, and obtained of Paul III the foundation of the Jesuitical Order, September 27, 1540. The decay of religious houses in England, and the progress of the Lutherans in Germany, authorizing (it seems) their institution, who sithence have so dilated themselves, as their disciples fear not to say, that for advancement of their doctrine, they have gone to further countries than the Apostles ever reached; and that God reserved the entire discoveries both of East and West Indies until the latter times, only that those holy fathers might have the honour of their conversion. Of the devotion and miracles which this Ignatius is said to have exhibited in his journeys, I affirm nothing, as contenting myself to have taken the more historical part out of Sandoval, who seems to be a great extoller of him. Sundry Reformers on the other side instead of confessing him to be a good man, or a miracle-worker, said he was an incendiary and haunted with evil spirits. Which latter part not only Sandoval, but Turrianus and Bobadilla, both of them Jesuits, confirm. Moreover, Turrianus related (as Hospinian hath it) that he died in much fear and trembling, and that his face was strangely black. Hasenmullerus besides (once a Jesuit) adds that

no bones were found in his body, and that all the Jesuits at his burial were witnesses thereof. Concerning which, therefore, no little dispute is on both sides, whether good or bad angels took them away, while divers sober men think neither; but that we may pretermit the constructions of passionate men of the one or the other side, as unfit to establish that peace in which God is best served, there is little occasion to say more of the Jesuits in this place, than that they are generally held such ministers of the King of Spain that they have more advanced (by the secret operations of their confessions, and intelligence which is admirable) the designs of the house of Austria than either the continent of Spain, made entire by the union of Granada (as is formerly touched), or the Indies themselves. By which means, as also that their doctrine and learning is so exact in all things, save where they overmuch study the Pope and Spaniard's ends, they have made themselves the most considerable among all the Religious Orders.—*Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.*

THOMAS HOBBES

1588–1679

OF THE CAUSES, GENERATION, AND DEFINITION OF A COMMONWEALTH

The final cause, end, or design of men (who naturally love liberty and dominion over others), in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves (in which we see them live in commonwealths), is the foresight of their own preservation, and of

a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war, which is necessarily consequent (as hath been shown) to the natural passions of men, when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants, and observation of those laws of nature set down in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters.

For the laws of nature (as justice, equity, modesty, mercy, and, in sum, doing to others as we would be done to), of themselves, without the terror of some power to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants, without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all. Therefore, notwithstanding the laws of nature (which every one hath then kept when he has the will to keep them, when he can do it safely), if there be no power erected, or not great enough for our security; every man will, and may lawfully, rely on his own strength and art, for caution against all other men. And in all places, where men have lived by small families, to rob and spoil one another has been a trade, and so far from being reputed against the law of nature, that the greater spoils they gained, the greater was their honour; and men observed no other laws therein but the laws of honour; that is, to abstain from cruelty, leaving to men their lives and instruments of husbandry. And as small families did then, so now do cities and kingdoms which are but greater families (for their own security) enlarge their dominions, upon all pretences of danger, and fear of invasion, or assistance

that may be given to invaders, endeavour as much as they can to subdue or weaken their neighbours, by open force, and secret arts, for want of other caution, justly; and are remembered for it in after ages with honour.

Nor is it the joining together of a small number of men that gives them this security; because in small numbers, small additions on the one side or the other make the advantage of strength so great as is sufficient to carry the victory; and therefore gives encouragement to an invasion. The multitude sufficient to confide in for our security is not determined by any certain number, but by comparison with the enemy we fear; and is then sufficient, when the odds of the enemy is not of so visible and conspicuous moment to determine the event of war, as to move him to attempt.

And be there never so great a multitude, yet if their actions be directed according to their particular judgements and particular appetites, they can expect thereby no defence nor protection, neither against a common enemy nor against the injuries of one another. For being distracted in opinions concerning the best use and application of their strength, they do not help, but hinder one another; and reduce their strength by mutual opposition to nothing: whereby they are easily not only subdued by a very few that agree together; but also when there is no common enemy they make war upon each other for their particular interests. For if we could suppose a great multitude of men to consent in the observation of justice and other laws of nature without a common power to keep them all in awe, we might as well suppose all mankind to do the same; and then there neither

would be, nor need to be, any civil government, or commonwealth at all, because there would be peace without subjection.

Nor is it enough for the security which men desire should last all the time of their life, that they be governed and directed by one judgement for a limited time, as in one battle or one war. For though they obtain a victory by their unanimous endeavour against a foreign enemy, yet afterwards, when either they have no common enemy, or he that by one part is held for an enemy is by another part held for a friend, they must needs by the difference of their interests dissolve, and fall again into a war amongst themselves.

It is true that certain living creatures, as bees and ants, live sociably one with another (which are therefore by Aristotle numbered amongst political creatures), and yet have no other direction than their particular judgements and appetites; nor speech, whereby one of them can signify to another what he thinks expedient for the common benefit: and therefore some man may perhaps desire to know why mankind cannot do the same. To which I answer,

First, that men are continually in competition for honour and dignity, which these creatures are not; and consequently amongst men there ariseth on that ground envy and hatred, and finally war; but amongst these not so.

Secondly, that amongst these creatures, the common good differeth not from the private; and being by nature inclined to their private, they procure thereby the common benefit. But man, whose joy consisteth in comparing himself with other men, can relish nothing but what is eminent.

Thirdly, that these creatures, having not (as man) the use of reason, do not see, nor think they see, any fault in the administration of their common business: whereas amongst men there are very many that think themselves wiser and abler to govern the public, better than the rest; and these strive to reform and innovate, one this way, another that way; and thereby bring it into distraction and civil war.

Fourthly, that these creatures, though they have some use of voice, in making known to one another their desires and other affections; yet they want that art of words by which some men can represent to others that which is good in the likeness of evil; and evil, in the likeness of good; and augment or diminish the apparent greatness of good and evil; discontenting men and troubling their peace at their pleasure.

Fifthly, irrational creatures cannot distinguish between injury and damage; and therefore as long as they be at ease, they are not offended with their fellows: whereas man is then most troublesome when he is most at ease: for then it is that he loves to show his wisdom, and control the actions of them that govern the commonwealth.

Lastly, the agreement of these creatures is natural; that of men is by covenant only, which is artificial: and therefore it is no wonder if there be somewhat else required (besides covenant) to make their agreement constant and lasting; which is a common power to keep them in awe and to direct their actions to the common benefit.

The only way to erect such a common power as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another, and

thereby to secure them in such sort as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly, is to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will: which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own and acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills every one to his will, and their judgements to his judgement. This is more than consent or concord,—it is a real unity of them all, in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man with every man, in such manner as if every man should say to every man, 'I authorize and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner.' This done, the multitude so united in one person, is called a commonwealth, in Latin, *civitas*. This is the generation of that great Leviathan, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that mortal God, to which we owe under the immortal God our peace and defence. For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof he is enabled to form the wills of them all to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth; which (to define it) is *one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by*

mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence.

And he that carrieth this person is called sovereign, and said to have sovereign power; and every one besides, his subject.

The attaining to this sovereign power is by two ways. One, by natural force; as when a man maketh his children to submit themselves and their children to his government, as being able to destroy them if they refuse; or by war subdueth his enemies to his will, giving them their lives on that condition. The other is, when men agree amongst themselves to submit to some man, or assembly of men, voluntarily, on confidence to be protected by him against all others. This latter may be called a political commonwealth, or commonwealth by institution; and the former a commonwealth by acquisition. And first I shall speak of a commonwealth by institution.—*Leviathan.*

JOHN SELDEN

1584–1654

DAMNATION

If the physician sees you eat anything that is not good for your body, to keep you from it, he cries 'tis poison. If the divine sees you do anything that is hurtful for your soul, to keep you from it, he cries you are damned.

To preach long, loud, and damnation, is the way to be cried up. We love a man that damns us, and

we run after him again to save us. If a man had a sore leg, and he should go to an honest judicious surgeon, and he should only bid him keep it warm, and anoint with such an oil (an oil well known), that would do the cure, haply he would not much regard him, because he knew the medicine beforehand an ordinary medicine. But if he should go to a surgeon that should tell him, your leg will gangrene within three days, and it must be cut off, and you will die, unless you do something that I could tell you; what listening there would be to this man! Oh, for the Lord's sake, tell me what this is, I will give you any content for your pains.—*Table Talk.*

DEVILS

Why have we none possessed with devils in England? The old answer is, the protestants the devil has already, and the papists are so holy, he dares not meddle with them. Why then, beyond seas, where a nun is possessed, when a Huguenot comes into the church, does the devil hunt him out? The priest teaches him; you never saw the devil throw up a nun's coats; mark that; the priest will not suffer it, for then the people will spit at him.

Casting out devils is mere juggling. They never cast out any but what they first cast in. They do it where, for reverence, no man shall dare to examine it. They do it in a corner, in a mortice-hole, not in the market-place. They do nothing but what may be done by art. They make the devil fly out at a window in the likeness of a bat, or a rat. Why do they not hold him? Why, in

the likeness of a bat, or a rat, or some creature that is ? Why not in some shape we paint him in, with claws and horns ? By this trick they gain much, gain upon men's fancies, and so are reverenced. And certainly if the priest can deliver me from him, that is my greatest enemy, I have all the reason in the world to reverence him.

Objection. But if this be juggling, why do they punish impostors ?

Answer. For great reason ; because they do not play their part well, and for fear others should discover them, and so think all of them to be of the same trade.

A person of quality came to my chamber in the Temple, and told me he had two devils in his head ; I wondered what he meant, and just at that time, one of them bid him kill me. With that I begun to be afraid, and thought he was mad. He said he knew I could cure him, and therefore entreated me to give him something, for he was resolved he would go to nobody else. I perceiving what an opinion he had of me, and that 'twas only melancholy that troubled him, took him in hand, warranted him, if he would follow my directions, to cure him in a short time. I desired him to let me be alone for an hour, and then to come again, which he was very willing to. In the meantime I got a card, and lapt it handsomely up in a piece of taffeta, and put strings to the taffeta, and when he came, gave it him, to hang about his neck ; withal charged him, that he should not disorder himself neither with eating or drinking, but eat very little of supper, and say his prayers duly when he went to bed, and I made no question but he would be well in three or four days. Within

that time I went to dinner at his house, and asked him how he did. He said he was much better, but not perfectly well, for in truth he had not dealt clearly with me: he had four devils in his head, and he perceived two of them were gone with that which I had given him, but the other two troubled him still. Well, said I, I am glad two of them are gone; I make no doubt but to get away the other two likewise. So I gave him another thing to hang about his neck. Three days after, he came to me to my chamber, and professed he was now as well as ever he was in his life, and did extremely thank me for the great care I had taken with him. I fearing lest he might relapse into the like distemper, told him that there was none but myself and one physician more, in the whole town, that could cure the devils in the head, and that was Doctor Harvey (whom I had prepared) and wished him, if ever he found himself ill in my absence, to go to him, for he could cure this disease as well as myself. The gentleman lived many years, and was never troubled after.—*Table Talk.*

FRIENDS

Old friends are best. King James used to call for his old shoes; they were easiest for his feet.—*Table Talk.*

LANGUAGE

To a living tongue new words may be added, but not to a dead tongue, as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.

Latimer is the corruption of *latiner*, it signifies he that interprets Latin; and though he interpreted

French, Spanish, or Italian, he was called the king's latimer, that is, the king's interpreter.

If you look upon the language spoken in the Saxon time, and the language spoken now, you will find the difference to be just as if a man had a cloak that he wore plain in Queen Elizabeth's days, and since has put in here a piece of red, and there a piece of blue, here a piece of green, and there a piece of orange-tawny. We borrow words from the French, Italian, Latin, as every pedantic man pleases.

We have more words than notions; half a dozen words for the same thing. Sometimes we put a new signification to an old word, as when we call a piece, a gun. The word gun was in use in England for an engine to cast a thing from a man, long before there was any gunpowder found out.

Words must be fitted to a man's mouth. 'Twas well said of the fellow that was to make a speech for my lord mayor; he desired to take measure of his lordship's mouth.—*Table Talk.*

MARRIAGE

Of all actions of a man's life, his marriage does least concern other people; yet of all actions of our life, 'tis most meddled with by other people.

Marriage is nothing but a civil contract. 'Tis true 'tis an ordinance of God; so is every other contract; God commands me to keep it, when I have made it.

Marriage is a desperate thing. The frogs in Aesop were extreme wise, they had a great mind to some water, but they would not leap into the well, because they could not get out again.

We single out particulars, and apply God's providence to them. Thus when two are married, and have undone one another, they cry it was God's providence we should come together, when God's providence does equally concur to everything.—*Table Talk.*

MEASURE OF THINGS

We measure from ourselves, and as things are for our use and purpose, so we approve them. Bring a pear to the table that is rotten, we cry it down, 'tis naught; but bring a medlar that is rotten, and 'tis a fine thing; and yet I warrant you, the pear thinks as well of itself as the medlar does.

We measure the excellency of other men, by some excellency we conceive to be in ourselves. Nash, a poet poor enough (as poets use to be), seeing an alderman with his gold chain, upon his great horse, said by way of scorn to one of his companions, Do you see yon fellow, how goodly, how big he looks? why that fellow cannot make a blank verse.

Nay, we measure the excellency of God from ourselves. We measure his goodness, his justice, his wisdom, by something we call just, good, or wise in ourselves; and in so doing, we judge proportionably to the country-fellow in the play, who said, If he were a king, he would live like a lord, and have peas and bacon every day, and a whip that cried slash.—*Table Talk.*

MONEY

MONEY makes a man laugh. A blind fiddler playing to a company, and playing but scurvily, the company laughed at him; his boy that led him, perceiving it, cried, Father, let us be gone, they do nothing but laugh at you. Hold thy peace, boy, says the fiddler, we shall have their money presently, and then we will laugh at them.

Euclid was beaten in Boccaline, for teaching his scholars a mathematical figure in his schools, whereby he showed that all the lives both of princes and private men tended to one centre, *con gentilezza* handsomely to get money out of other men's pockets, and put it into their own.

The pope used heretofore to send the princes of Christendom to fight against the Turk; but prince and pope finely juggled together; the moneys were raised, and some men went out to the holy war, but commonly after they had got the money, the Turk was pretty quiet, and the prince and the pope shared it betwixt them.

In all times the princes in England have done something illegally, to get money. But then came a parliament, and all was well; the people and the prince kissed and were friends, and so things were quiet for a while. Afterwards there was another trick found out to get money, and after they had got it, another parliament was called to set all right &c. But now they have so outrun the constable——*Table Talk.*

WIFE

He that has a handsome wife, by other men is thought happy; 'tis a pleasure to look upon her, and be in her company; but the husband is cloyed with her. We are never content with what we have.

You shall see a monkey sometime that has been playing up and down the garden, at length leap up to the top of the wall, but his clog hangs a great way below on this side: the bishop's wife is like that monkey's clog; himself is got up very high, takes place of temporal barons; but his wife comes a great way behind.

'Tis reason a man that will have a wife should be at the charge of all her trinkets, and pay all the scores she sets on him. He that will keep a monkey, 'tis fit he should pay for the glasses she breaks.—*Table Talk.*

WISDOM

A wise man should never resolve upon anything, at least never let the world know his resolution; for if he cannot arrive at that, he is shamed. How many things did the king resolve in his declaration concerning Scotland, never to do, and yet did them all? A man must do according to accidents and emergencies.

Never tell your resolution beforehand; but when the cast is thrown, play it as well as you can to win the game you are at. 'Tis but folly to study how to play size-ace, when you know not whether you shall throw it or no.

Wise men say nothing in dangerous times. The

lion, you know, called the sheep, to ask her if his breath smelt; she said, Aye; he bit off her head for a fool. He called the wolf, and asked him; he said, No; he tore him in pieces for a flatterer. At last he called the fox, and asked him; Truly he had got a cold, and could not smell. King James was pictured, &c.—*Table Talk.*

WIT

Wit and wisdom differ; wit is upon the sudden turn, wisdom is in bringing about ends.

Nature must be the groundwork of wit and art; otherwise whatever is done will prove but jack-pudding's work.

Wit must grow like fingers; if it be taken from others, 'tis like plums stuck upon blackthorn; there they are for a while, but they come to nothing.

He that will give himself to all manner of ways to get money may be rich; so he that will let fly all he knows or thinks, may by chance be sarcastically witty. Honesty sometimes keeps a man from being rich; and civility from being witty.

Women ought not to know their own wit, because then they will still be showing it, and so spoil it; like a child that will be continually showing its fine new coat, till at length it all bedaubs it with its pah[1] hands.

Fine wits destroy themselves with their own plots, in meddling with great affairs of state. They commonly do as the ape that saw the gunner put bullets in the cannon, and was pleased with it, and he would be doing so too; at last he puts himself into the piece, and so both ape and bullet were shot away together.—*Table Talk.*

[1] nasty.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN

1585–1649

OF DEATH

If on the great theatre of this earth, amongst the numberless number of men, to die were only proper to thee and thine, then, undoubtedly, thou hadst reason to grudge at so severe and partial a law. But since it is a necessity, from the which never an age by-past hath been exempted, and unto which these which be, and so many as are to come, are thralled (no consequent of life being more common and familiar), why shouldst thou, with unprofitable and nothing-availing stubbornness, oppose to so unevitable and necessary a condition? This is the highway of mortality, our general home: behold what millions have trod it before thee! what multitudes shall after thee, with them which at that same instant run! In so universal a calamity (if death be one), private complaints cannot be heard: with so many royal palaces, it is small loss to see thy poor cabin burn. Shall the heavens stay their ever-rolling wheels (for what is the motion of them but the motion of a swift and ever-whirling wheel, which twinneth forth, and again upwindeth our life?), and hold still time, to prolong thy miserable days, as if the highest of their working were to do homage unto thee? Thy death is a piece of the order of this *All*, a part of the life of this world; for while the world is the world, some creatures must die, and others take life. Eternal things are raised far above this orb

of generation and corruption, where the first matter, like a still-flowing and ebbing sea, with diverse waves, but the same water, keepeth a restless and never-tiring current; what is below, in the universality of the kind, not in itself doth abide: man a long line of years hath continued, this man every hundredth is swept away.

This air-encircled globe is the sole region of death, the grave where everything that taketh life must rot, the lists of Fortune and Change, only glorious in the inconstancy and varying alterations of it, which, though many, seem yet to abide one, and being a certain entire one, are ever many. The never-agreeing bodies of the elemental brethren turn one in another, the Earth changeth her countenance with the seasons, sometimes looking cold and naked, other times hot and flowery. Nay, I cannot tell how, but even the lowest of those celestial bodies, that mother of months, and empress of seas and moisture, as if she were a mirror of our constant mutability, appeareth (by her great nearness unto us) to participate of our alterations, never seeing us twice with that same face, now looking black, then pale and wan, sometimes again in the perfection and fullness of her beauty shining over us. Death here no less than life doth act a part; the taking away of what is old being the making way for what is young. This earth is as a table-book, and men are the notes; the first are washen out that new may be written in. They which forewent us did leave a room for us; and should we grieve to do the same to those which should come after us? Who, being admitted to see the exquisite rarities of some antiquary's cabinet, is grieved, all viewed, to have the curtain

drawn, and give place to new pilgrims? And when the Lord of this universe hath showed us the various wonders of his amazing frame, should we take it to heart, when he thinketh time, to dislodge? This is his unalterable and unevitable decree: as we had no part of our will in our entrance into this life, we should not presume of any in our leaving it, but soberly learn to will that which he wills, whose very willing giveth being to all that it wills; and adoring the orderer, not repine at the order and laws, which allwhere and always are so perfectly established, that who would essay to alter and amend any of them, he should either make them worse, or desire things beyond the level of possibility. All that is necessary and convenient for us they have bestowed upon us and freely granted, and what they have not bestowed nor granted us, neither is it necessary nor convenient that we should have it.

If thou dost complain that there shall be a time in the which thou shalt not be, why dost thou not too grieve that there was a time in the which thou wast not, and so that thou art not as old as that enlivening planet of time? For not to have been a thousand years before this moment is as much to be deplored as not to be a thousand after it, the effect of them both being one: that will be after us which long long ere we were was. Our children's children have that same reason to murmur that they were not young men in our days, which we now to complain that we shall not be old in theirs. The violets have their time, though they empurple not the winter, and the roses keep their season, though they discover not their beauty in the spring.

Empires, states, kingdoms have, by the doom of the supreme Providence, their fatal periods; great cities lie sadly buried in their dust; arts and sciences have not only their eclipses, but their wanings and deaths; the ghastly wonders of the world, raised by the ambition of ages, are overthrown and trampled; some lights above (deserving to be entitled stars) are loosed and never more seen of us; the excellent fabric of this universe itself shall one day suffer ruin, or a change like a ruin, and poor earthlings thus to be handled complain!—*Cypress Grove.*

IZAAK WALTON

1593–1683

THE GREAT CHUB TAKEN AND COOKED

PISCATOR. Trust me, Sir, there is not a likely place for a Trout hereabout: and we stayed so long to take our leave of your huntsmen this morning, that the sun is got so high, and shines so clear, that I will not undertake the catching of a Trout till evening; and though a Chub be, by you and many others, reckoned the worst of fish, yet you shall see I'll make it a good fish by dressing it.

VENATOR. Why, how will you dress him?

PISCATOR. I'll tell you by and by, when I have caught him. Look you here, Sir, do you see? (but you must stand very close) there lie upon the top of the water, in this very hole, twenty Chubs. I'll catch only one, and that shall be the biggest of them all: and that I will do so, I'll hold you twenty to one, and you shall see it done.

VENATOR. Aye, marry! Sir, now you talk like an

artist; and I'll say you are one, when I shall see you perform what you say you can do; but I yet doubt it.

PISCATOR. You shall not doubt it long; for you shall see me do it presently. Look! the biggest of these Chubs has had some bruise upon his tail, by a Pike or some other accident, and that looks like a white spot; that very Chub I mean to put into your hands presently; sit you but down in the shade, and stay but a little while; and I'll warrant you, I'll bring him to you.

VENATOR. I'll sit down and hope well, because you seem to be so confident.

PISCATOR. Look you, Sir, there is a trial of my skill; there he is, that very Chub that I showed you with the white spot on his tail: and I'll be as certain to make him a good dish of meat as I was to catch him: I'll now lead you to an honest ale-house, where we shall find a cleanly room, lavender in the windows, and twenty ballads stuck about the wall; there my hostess (which I may tell you is both cleanly, and handsome, and civil) hath dressed many a one for me, and shall now dress it after my fashion, and I warrant it good meat.

VENATOR. Come, Sir, with all my heart, for I begin to be hungry, and long to be at it, and indeed to rest myself too; for though I have walked but four miles this morning, yet I begin to be weary; yesterday's hunting hangs still upon me.

PISCATOR. Well, Sir, and you shall quickly be at rest, for yonder is the house I mean to bring you to.

Come, hostess, how do you? Will you first give us a cup of your best drink, and then dress this Chub, as you dressed my last, when I and my friend were here about eight or ten days ago? But

you must do me one courtesy, it must be done instantly.

HOSTESS. I will do it, Mr. Piscator, and with all the speed I can.

PISCATOR. Now, Sir, has not my hostess made haste ? and does not the fish look lovely ?

VENATOR. Both, upon my word, Sir ; and therefore let 's say grace and fall to eating of it.

PISCATOR. Well, Sir, how do you like it ?

VENATOR. Trust me, 'tis as good meat as I ever tasted. Now let me thank you for it, drink to you, and beg a courtesy of you ; but it must not be denied me.

PISCATOR. What is it, I pray, Sir ? You are so modest, that methinks I may promise to grant it before it is asked.

VENATOR. Why, Sir, it is, that from henceforth you would allow me to call you Master, and that really I may be your Scholar ; for you are such a companion, and have so quickly caught and so excellently cooked this fish, as makes me ambitious to be your scholar.

PISCATOR. Give me your hand ; from this time forward I will be your Master, and teach you as much of this art as I am able ; and will, as you desire me, tell you somewhat of the nature of most of the fish that we are to angle for, and I am sure I both can and will tell you more than any common angler yet knows.—*The Compleat Angler.*

SONGS

PISCATOR. Nay, stay a little, good scholar. I caught my last Trout with a worm ; now I will put on a minnow, and try a quarter of an hour about

yonder trees for another; and so walk towards our lodging. Look you, scholar, thereabout we shall have a bite presently, or not at all. Have with you, Sir! o' my word I have hold of him! Oh! it is a great logger-headed Chub; come, hang him upon that willow twig, and let 's be going. But turn out of the way a little, good scholar, towards yonder high honeysuckle hedge; there we'll sit and sing, whilst this shower falls so gently upon the teeming earth, and gives yet a sweeter smell to the lovely flowers that adorn these verdant meadows.

Look! under that broad beech-tree I sat down, when I was last this way a-fishing; and the birds in the adjoining grove seemed to have a friendly contention with an echo, whose dead voice seemed to live in a hollow tree, near to the brow of that primrose-hill; there I sat viewing the silver streams glide silently towards their centre, the tempestuous sea; yet sometimes opposed by rugged roots, and pebble-stones, which broke their waves, and turned them into foam: and sometimes I beguiled time by viewing the harmless lambs; some leaping securely in the cool shade, whilst others sported themselves in the cheerful sun; and saw others craving comfort from the swollen udders of their bleating dams. As I thus sat, these and other sights had so fully possessed my soul with content, that I thought, as the poet has happily expressed it:

> I was for that time lifted above earth;
> And possest joys not promis'd in my birth.

As I left this place, and entered into the next field, a second pleasure entertained me; 'twas a handsome milkmaid that had not yet attained so much age and wisdom as to load her mind with

any fears of many things that will never be, as too many men too often do ; but she cast away all care, and sung like a nightingale. Her voice was good, and the ditty fitted for it ; 'twas that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlow, now at least fifty years ago : and the milkmaid's mother sung an answer to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days.

They were old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good, I think much better than the strong lines that are now in fashion in this critical age. Look yonder ! on my word, yonder they both be a-milking again. I will give her the Chub, and persuade them to sing those two songs to us.

God speed you, good woman ! I have been a-fishing, and am going to Bleak Hall, to my bed, and having caught more fish than will sup myself and my friend, I will bestow this upon you and your daughter, for I use to sell none.

Milkwoman. Marry ! God requite you, Sir, and we'll eat it cheerfully. And if you come this way a-fishing two months hence, a grace of God ! I'll give you a syllabub of new verjuice, in a new-made haycock, for it. And my Maudlin shall sing you one of her best ballads ; for she and I both love all anglers, they be such honest, civil, quiet men. In the meantime will you drink a draught of Red-Cow's milk ? you shall have it freely.

Piscator. No, I thank you ; but, I pray, do us a courtesy that shall stand you and your daughter in nothing, and yet we will think ourselves still something in your debt : it is but to sing us a song that was sung by your daughter when I last passed over this meadow, about eight or nine days since.

Milkwoman. What song was it, I pray ? Was

it 'Come, Shepherds, deck your herds', or 'As at noon Dulcina rested', or 'Phillida flouts me', or 'Chevy Chace', or 'Johnny Armstrong', or 'Troy Town'?

PISCATOR. No, it is none of those; it is a song that your daughter sung the first part, and you sung the answer to it.

MILKWOMAN. Oh, I know it now. I learned the first part in my golden age, when I was about the age of my poor daughter; and the latter part, which indeed fits me best now, but two or three years ago, when the cares of the world began to take hold of me: but you shall, God willing, hear them both, and sung as well as we can, for we both love anglers. Come, Maudlin, sing the first part to the gentlemen, with a merry heart; and I'll sing the second, when you have done.

THE MILKMAID'S SONG

Come live with me, and be my love,
And we will all the pleasures prove
That valleys, groves, or hills, or fields,
Or woods, and steepy mountain yields.

Where we will sit upon the rocks,
And see the shepherds feed our flocks,
By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.

And I will make thee beds of roses,
And then a thousand fragrant posies,
A cap of flowers, and a kirtle,
Embroidered all with leaves of myrtle;

A gown made of the finest wool
Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
Slippers lin'd choicely for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold;

A belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
With coral clasps and amber studs;
And if these pleasures may thee move,
Come live with me, and be my love.

Thy silver dishes for thy meat,
As precious as the Gods do eat,
Shall on an ivory table be
Prepared each day for thee and me.

The shepherd swains shall dance and sing
For thy delight each May-morning:
If these delights thy mind may move,
Then live with me, and be my love.

VENATOR. Trust me, master, it is a choice song, and sweetly sung by honest Maudlin. I now see it was not without cause that our good Queen Elizabeth did so often wish herself a milkmaid all the month of May, because they are not troubled with fears and cares, but sing sweetly all the day, and sleep securely all the night: and without doubt, honest, innocent, pretty Maudlin does so. I'll bestow Sir Thomas Overbury's milkmaid's wish upon her, That she may die in the Spring; and, being dead, may have good store of flowers stuck round about her winding sheet.

THE MILKMAID'S MOTHER'S ANSWER

If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee, and be thy love.

But Time drives flocks from field to fold,
When rivers rage, and rocks grow cold,
Then Philomel becometh dumb,
And age complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
To wayward winter reckoning yields,
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
Thy coral clasps, and amber studs,
All these in me no means can move
To come to thee, and be thy love.

What should we talk of dainties then,
Of better meat than 's fit for men ?
These are but vain : that 's only good
Which God hath blest, and sent for food.

But could youth last, and love still breed,
Had joys no date, nor age no need ;
Then those delights my mind might move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

The Compleat Angler.

ON THE TROUT

Piscator. Well met, brother Peter! I heard you and a friend would lodge here to-night, and that hath made me to bring my friend to lodge here too. My friend is one that would fain be a brother of the angle ; he hath been an angler but this day, and I have taught him how to catch a Chub by daping with a grasshopper, and the Chub he caught was a lusty one of nineteen inches long. But pray, brother Peter, who is your companion ?

Peter. Brother Piscator, my friend is an honest countryman, and his name is Coridon ; and he is a downright witty companion that met me here purposely to be pleasant and eat a Trout, and

I have not yet wetted my line since we met together; but I hope to fit him with a Trout for his breakfast, for I'll be early up.

PISCATOR. Nay, brother, you shall not stay so long; for, look you! here is a Trout will fill six reasonable bellies. Come, hostess, dress it presently; and get us what other meat the house will afford; and give us some of your best barley-wine, the good liquor that our honest forefathers did use to drink of; the drink which preserved their health, and made them live so long, and to do so many good deeds.

PETER. O' my word, this Trout is perfect in season. Come, I thank you, and here is a hearty draught to you, and to all the brothers of the angle wheresoever they be, and to my young brother's good fortune to-morrow. I will furnish him with a rod, if you will furnish him with the rest of the tackling: we will set him up, and make him a fisher.

And I will tell him one thing for his encouragement, that his fortune hath made him happy to be scholar to such a master: a master that knows as much both of the nature and breeding of fish as any man; and can also tell him as well how to catch and cook them, from the Minnow to the Salmon, as any that I ever met withal.

PISCATOR. Trust me, brother Peter, I find my scholar to be so suitable to my own humour, which is to be free and pleasant, and civilly merry, that my resolution is to hide nothing that I know from him. Believe me, scholar, this is my resolution; and so here 's to you a hearty draught, and to all that love us, and the honest art of Angling.

VENATOR. Trust me, good master, you shall not sow your seed in barren ground, for I hope to

return you an increase answerable to your hopes; but however you shall find me obedient, and thankful, and serviceable to my best ability.

PISCATOR. 'Tis enough, honest scholar! come, let 's to supper. Come, my friend Coridon, this Trout looks lovely; it was twenty-two inches when it was taken; and the belly of it looked some part of it as yellow as a marigold, and part of it as white as a lily; and yet methinks it looks better in this good sauce.

CORIDON. Indeed, honest friend, it looks well, and tastes well: I thank you for it, and so doth my friend Peter, or else he is to blame.

PETER. Yes, and so I do; we all thank you: and, when we have supped, I will get my friend Coridon to sing you a song for requital.

CORIDON. I will sing a song, if anybody will sing another; else, to be plain with you, I will sing none. I am none of those that sing for meat, but for company: I say,

'Tis merry in hall,
When men sing all.

PISCATOR. I'll promise you I'll sing a song that was lately made, at my request, by Mr. William Basse; one that hath made the choice songs of the 'Hunter in his Career', and of 'Tom of Bedlam', and many others of note; and this that I will sing is in praise of Angling.

CORIDON. And then mine shall be the praise of a Countryman's life. What will the rest sing of?

PETER. I will promise you, I will sing another song in praise of Angling to-morrow night; for we will not part till then, but fish to-morrow, and sup together, and the next day every man leave fishing, and fall to his business.

VENATOR. 'Tis a match; and I will provide you a song or a catch against then too, which shall give some addition of mirth to the company; for we will be civil and as merry as beggars.

PISCATOR. 'Tis a match, my masters. Let 's ev'n say grace, and turn to the fire, drink the other cup to wet our whistles, and so sing away all sad thoughts.

Come on, my masters, who begins? I think it is best to draw cuts, and avoid contention.

PETER. It is a match. Look, the shortest cut falls to Coridon.

CORIDON. Well, then, I will begin, for I hate contention.—*The Compleat Angler.*

GIPSIES

WHEN I had ended this composure, I left this place, and saw a brother of the angle sit under that honeysuckle hedge, one that will prove worth your acquaintance. I sat down by him, and presently we met with an accidental piece of merriment, which I will relate to you, for it rains still.

On the other side of this very hedge sat a gang of gipsies; and near to them sat a gang of beggars. The gipsies were then to divide all the money that had been got that week, either by stealing linen or poultry, or by fortune-telling or legerdemain, or, indeed, by any other sleights and secrets belonging to their mysterious government. And the sum that was got that week proved to be but twenty and some odd shillings. The odd money was agreed to be distributed amongst the poor of their own corporation: and for the remaining twenty shillings, that was to be divided unto four gentlemen gipsies,

according to their several degrees in their commonwealth.

And the first or chiefest gipsy was, by consent, to have a third part of the twenty shillings; which all men know is 6*s.* 8*d.*

The second was to have a fourth part of the 20*s.*, which all men know to be 5*s.*

The third was to have a fifth part of the 20*s.*, which all men know to be 4*s.*

The fourth and last gipsy was to have a sixth part of the 20*s.*, which all men know to be 3*s.* 4*d.*

As for example,
3 times 6*s.* 8*d.* is . . 20*s.*
And so is 4 times 5*s.* . . 20*s.*
And so is 5 times 4*s.* . . 20*s.*
And so is 6 times 3*s.* 4*d.* . 20*s.*

And yet he that divided the money was so very a gipsy, that though he gave to every one these said sums, yet he kept one shilling of it for himself.

As, for example,	*s.*	*d.*
	6	8
	5	0
	4	0
	3	4
make but . . .	19	0

But now you shall know, that when the four gipsies saw that he had got one shilling by dividing the money, though not one of them knew any reason to demand more, yet, like lords and courtiers, every gipsy envied him that was the gainer, and wrangled with him; and every one said the remaining shilling belonged to him; and so they fell to so high a contest about it, as none that knows the faithfulness of one gipsy to another

will easily believe; only we that have lived these last twenty years are certain that money has been able to do much mischief. However, the gipsies were too wise to go to law, and did therefore choose their choice friends Rook and Shark, and our late English Gusman, to be their arbitrators and umpires. And so they left this honeysuckle hedge; and went to tell fortunes and cheat, and get more money and lodging in the next village.—*The Compleat Angler.*

DEATH OF RICHARD HOOKER

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end, the doctor came, and after a short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and some of those friends which were with him, the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible; insomuch that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor

occasion to inquire his present thoughts : to which he replied, 'That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven ; and oh that it might be so on earth !' After which words he said, 'I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near ; and, though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men ; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it ? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord show mercy to me, for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for His merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners ; and since I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time ; I submit to it ! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done !' With which expression he fell into a dangerous slumber ; dangerous, as to his recovery ; yet recover he did, but it was to speak only these few words : 'Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and He is at peace with me ; and from that blessed assurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me : my conscience beareth me this witness, and this witness makes the thoughts of death joyful. I could wish to live to do the Church more service, but cannot hope it, for my days are past as a shadow that returns not.' More he would have

spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep. And now he seems to rest like Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; let me here draw his curtain, till with the most glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apostles, the most noble army of Martyrs and Confessors, this most learned, most humble, holy man, shall also awake to receive an eternal tranquillity; and with it, a greater degree of glory than common Christians shall be made partakers of.

In the meantime, bless, O Lord, Lord bless his brethren, the clergy of this nation, with effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekness, his godly simplicity, and his Christian moderation: for these will bring peace at the last! And, Lord, let his most excellent writings be blest with what he designed when he undertook them: which was, 'Glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy Church, and good-will to mankind!' Amen, Amen.—*Life of Richard Hooker.*

JAMES HOWELL

1594 (?)–1666

ASSASSINATION OF BUCKINGHAM

Madam,—I lay yesternight at the post-house at Stilton, and this morning betimes the post-master came to my bed's-head, and told me the Duke of Buckingham was slain.

My faith was not then strong enough to believe it, till an hour ago I met in the way with my Lord

of Rutland (your brother) riding post towards London; it pleased him to alight, and show me a letter, wherein there was an exact relation of all the circumstances of this sad tragedy.

Upon Saturday last, which was but next before yesterday, being Bartholomew eve, the Duke did rise up in a well-disposed humour out of his bed, and cut a caper or two, and being ready, and having been under the barber's hand (where the murderer had thought to have done the deed, for he was leaning upon the window all the while) he went to breakfast, attended by a great company of commanders, where Monsieur Soubize came to him, and whispered him in the ear that Rochelle was relieved; the Duke seemed to slight the news, which made some think that Soubize went away discontented.

After breakfast the Duke going out, Colonel Fryer stept before him, and stopping him upon some business, and Lieutenant Felton, being behind, made a thrust with a common tenpenny knife over Fryer's arm at the Duke, which lighted so fatally that he slit his heart in two, leaving the knife sticking in the body. The Duke took out the knife and threw it away: and laying his hand on his sword, and drawing it half out, said, 'The villain hath killed me' (meaning, as some think, Colonel Fryer), for there had been some difference 'twixt them; so reeling against a chimney, he fell down dead. The Duchess being with child, hearing the noise below, came in her night-gears from her bedchamber, which was in an upper room, to a kind of rail, and thence beheld him weltering in his own blood. Felton had lost his hat in the crowd, wherein there was a paper sewed,

wherein he declared, that the reason which moved him to this act, was no grudge of his own, though he had been far behind for his pay, and had been put by his Captain's place twice, but in regard he thought the Duke an enemy to the State, because he was branded in parliament; therefore what he did was for the public good of his country. Yet he got clearly down, and so might have gone to his horse, which was tied to a hedge hard by; but he was so amazed that he missed his way, and so struck into the pastry, where, although the cry went that some Frenchman had done't, he, thinking the word was Felton, boldly confessed 'twas he that had done the deed, and so he was in their hands.

Jack Stamford would have run at him, but he was kept off by Mr. Nicholas; so being carried up to a tower, Captain Mince tore off his spurs, and asking how he durst attempt such an act, making him believe the Duke was not dead, he answered boldly, that he knew he was dispatched, for 'twas not he, but the hand of heaven that gave the stroke; and though his whole body had been covered over with armour of proof, he could not have avoided it. Captain Charles Price went post presently to the King four miles off, who being at prayers on his knees when it was told him, yet never stirred, nor was he disturbed a-whit till all divine service was done. This was the relation, as far as my memory could bear, in my Lord of Rutland's letter, who willed me to remember him to your Ladyship, and tell you that he was going to comfort your niece (the Duchess) as fast as he could. And so I have sent the truth of this sad story to your Ladyship, as fast as I could by this post, because I cannot make that speed myself.

in regard of some business I have to dispatch for my Lord in the way: so I humbly take my leave, and rest your Ladyship's most dutiful servant.—*Letter to Lady Scroop, Countess of Sunderland.*

JOHN EARLE

1601 (?)–1665

A DISCONTENTED MAN

Is one that is fallen out with the world, and will be revenged on himself. Fortune has denied him in something, and he now takes pet, and will be miserable in spite. The root of his disease is a self-humouring pride, and an accustomed tenderness, not to be crossed in his fancy: and the occasions commonly one of these three, a hard father, a peevish wench, or his ambition thwarted. He considered not the nature of the world till he felt it, and all blows fall on him heavier, because they light not first on his expectation. He has now forgone all but his pride, and is yet vainglorious in the ostentation of his melancholy. His composure of himself is a studied carelessness with his arms across, and a neglected hanging of his head and cloak, and he is as great an enemy to an hatband as Fortune. He quarrels at the time and upstarts, and sighs at the neglect of men of parts, that is, such as himself. His life is a perpetual satire, and he is still girding the age's vanity, when this very anger shows he too much esteems it. He is much displeased to see men merry, and wonders what they can find to laugh at. He never draws his own lips higher than a smile, and frowns wrinkle him before forty. He at the last falls into

that deadly melancholy to be a bitter hater of men, and is the most apt companion for any mischief. He is the spark that kindles the commonwealth and the bellows himself to blow it : and if he turn anything, it is commonly one of these, either friar, traitor, or madman.—*Micro-Cosmographie.*

A GOOD OLD MAN

Is the best antiquity, and which we may with least vanity admire. One whom Time hath been thus long a-working, and like winter fruit ripened when others are shaken down. He hath taken out as many lessons of the world as days, and learnt the best thing in it, the vanity of it. He looks o'er his former life as a danger well past, and would not hazard himself to begin again. His lust was long broken before his body, yet he is glad this temptation is broke too, and that he is fortified from it by this weakness. The next door of death sads him not, but he expects it calmly as his turn in nature : and fears more his recoiling back to childishness than dust. All men look on him as a common father, and on old age for his sake, as a reverent thing. His very presence and face puts vice out of countenance, and makes it an indecorum in a vicious man. He practises his experience on youth without the harshness of reproof, and in his counsel is good company. He has some old stories still of his own seeing to confirm what he says, and makes them better in the telling ; yet is not troublesome neither with the same tale again, but remembers with them how oft he has told them. His old sayings and morals seem proper to his beard : and the poetry of Cato does well out of his

mouth, and he speaks it as if he were the author. He is not apt to put the boy on a younger man, nor the fool on a boy, but can distinguish gravity from a sour look, and the less testy he is, the more regarded. You must pardon him if he like his own times better than these, because those things are follies to him now that were wisdom then: yet he makes us of that opinion too, when we see him, and conjecture those times by so good a relic. He is a man capable of a dearness with the youngest men; yet he not youthfuller for them, but they older for him, and no man credits more his acquaintance. He goes away at last too soon whensoever, with all men's sorrow but his own, and his memory is fresh when it is twice as old.—*Micro-Cosmographie.*

A PLAIN COUNTRY FELLOW

Is one that manures his ground well, but lets himself lie fallow and untilled. He has reason enough to do his business, and not enough to be idle or melancholy. He seems to have the judgement of Nebuchadnezzar: for his conversation is among beasts, and his talons none of the shortest, only he eats not grass, because he loves not sallets. His hand guides the plough, and the plough his thoughts, and his ditch and landmark is the very mound of his meditations. He expostulates with his oxen very understandingly, and speaks gee and ree better than English. His mind is not much distracted with objects: but if a good fat cow come in his way, he stands dumb and astonished, and though his haste be never so great, will fix here half an hour's contemplation. His habitation

is some poor thatched roof, distinguished from his barn by the loop-holes that let out smoke, which the rain had long since washed through, but for the double ceiling of bacon on the inside, which has hung there from his grandsire's time, and is yet to make rashers for posterity. His dinner is his other work, for he sweats at it as much as at his labour; he is a terrible fastener on a piece of beef, and you may hope to stave the guard off sooner. His religion is a part of his copyhold, which he takes from his landlord, and refers it wholly to his discretion. Yet if he give him leave, he is a good Christian to his power: that is, comes to church in his best clothes, and sits there with his neighbours, where he is capable only of two prayers, for rain and fair weather. He apprehends God's blessings only in a good year, or a fat pasture, and never praises Him but on good ground. Sunday he esteems a day to make merry in, and thinks a bagpipe as essential to it as Evening Prayer, where he walks very solemnly after service with his hands coupled behind him, and censures the dancing of his parish. His compliment with his neighbour is a good thump on the back; and his salutation commonly some blunt curse. He thinks nothing to be vices but pride and ill husbandry, from which he will gravely dissuade youth and has some thrifty hobnail proverbs to clout his discourse. He is a niggard all the week except only market-day, where if his corn sell well, he thinks he may be drunk with a good conscience. His feet never stink so unbecomingly, as when he trots after a lawyer in Westminster-hall, and even cleaves the ground with hard scraping, in beseeching his worship to take his money. He is sensible of no

calamity but the burning of a stack of corn, or the overflowing of a meadow, and thinks Noah's Flood the greatest plague that ever was, not because it drowned the world, but spoiled the grass. For death he is never troubled, and if he get in but his harvest before, let it come when it will he cares not.—*Micro-Cosmographie.*

A POT-POET

Is the dregs of wit; yet mingled with good drink may have some relish. His inspirations are more real than others; for they do but feign a God but he has his by him. His verses run like the tap, and his invention as the barrel ebbs and flows at the mercy of the spiggot. In thin drink he aspires not above a ballad, but a cup of sack inflames him, and sets his muse and nose afire together. The press is his mint, and stamps him now and then a sixpence or two in reward of the baser coin his pamphlet. His works would scarce sell for three-halfpence, though they are given oft for three shillings, but for the pretty title that allures the country gentleman: and for which the printer maintains him in ale a fortnight. His verses are like his clothes, miserable centos and patches, yet their pace is not altogether so hobbling as an almanac's. The death of a great man or the burning of a house furnish him with an argument, and the nine Muses are out straight in mourning gown, and Melpomene cries, 'Fire, Fire!' His other poems are but briefs in rhyme, and like the poor Greek's collections to redeem from captivity. He is a man now much employed in commendations of our Navy, and a bitter inveigher against the

Spaniard. His frequentest works go out in single sheets, and are chanted from market to market, to a vile tune, and a worse throat: whilst the poor country-wench melts like her butter to hear them. And these are the Stories of some men of Tyburn, or a Strange Monster out of Germany: or sitting in a bawdy-house, he writes God's judgements. He ends at last in some obscure painted cloth, to which himself made the verses, and his life like a can too full spills upon the bench. He leaves twenty shillings on the score, which my hostess loses.—*Micro-Cosmographie.*

OWEN FELTHAM

1602 (?)–1678

OF DREAMS

Dreams are notable means of discovering our own inclinations. The wise man learns to know himself as well by the night's black mantle, as the searching beams of day. In sleep, we have the naked and natural thoughts of our souls: outward objects interpose not, either to shuffle in occasional cogitations, or hale out the included fancy. The mind is then shut up in the Borough of the body; none of the Cinque Ports of the Isle of Man are then open, to in-let any strange disturbers. Surely, how we fall to vice, or rise to virtue, we may by observation find in our dreams. It was the wise Zeno that said, he could collect a man by his dreams. For then the soul, stated in a deep repose, bewrayed her true affections: which, in

the busy day, she would either not show, or not note. It was a custom among the Indians, when their kings went to their sleep, to pray with piping acclamations, that they might have happy dreams; and withal consult well for their subjects' benefit: as if the night had been a time, wherein they might grow good and wise. And certainly, the wise man is the wiser for his sleeping, if he can order well in the day, what the eyeless night presenteth him. Every dream is not to be counted of: nor yet are all to be cast away with contempt. I would neither be a Stoic, superstitious in all; nor yet an Epicure, considerate of none. If the physician may by them judge of the disease of the body, I see not but the divine may do so, concerning the soul. I doubt not but the genius of the soul is waking, and motive even in the fastest closures of the imprisoning eyelids. But to presage from these thoughts of sleep, is a wisdom that I would not reach to. The best use we can make of dreams, is observation: and by that, our own correction, or encouragement. For 'tis not doubtable, but that the mind is working, in the dullest depth of sleep. I am confirmed by Claudian,

Omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota diurno,
Tempore nocturno, reddit amica quies.
Venator defessa toro cum membra reponit,
Mens tamen ad silvas, et sua lustra redit.
Judicibus lites, aurigae somnia currus,
Vanaque nocturnis meta cavetur equis.
Furto gaudet amans; permutat navita Merces:
Et vigil elapsas quaerit avarus opes.
Blandaque largitur frustra sitientibus aegris
Irriguus gelido pocula fonte sopor.
Me quoque Musarum studium, sub nocte silenti,
Artibus assiduis, sollicitare solet.

Day thoughts, transwinged from th' industrious breast,
All seem re-acted in the night's dumb rest.
When the tired Huntsman his repose begins,
Then flies his mind to woods, and wild beasts' dens.
Judges dream cases : Champions seem to run,
With their night Coursers, the vain bounds to shun.
Love hugs his rapes, the Merchant traffic minds.
The miser thinks he some lost treasure finds.
And to the thirsty sick some potion cold
Stiff flattering sleep inanely seems to hold.
Yea, and in th' age of silent rest, even I,
Troubled with Art's deep musings, nightly lie.

Dreams do sometimes call us to a recognition of our inclinations, which print the deeper, in so undisturbed times. I could wish men to give them their consideration, but not to allow them their trust, though sometimes 'tis easy to pick out a profitable moral. Antiquity had them in much more reverence, and did oft account them prophecies, as is easily found in the sacred volume : and among the Heathen, nothing was more frequent. Astyages had two, of his daughter Mandana, the vine and the flood. Calphurnia of her Caesar ; Hecuba of Paris ; and almost every prince among them, had his fate showed in interpreted dreams. Galen tells of one, that dreamed his thigh was turned to stone, and soon after, it was struck with a dead palsy. The aptness of the humours to the like effects might suggest something to the mind, then apt to receive. So that I doubt not but either to preserve health or amend the life, dreams may, to a wise observer, be of special benefit. I would neither depend upon any, to incur a prejudice, nor yet cast them all away in a prodigal neglect and scorn. I find it of one that having long been troubled with the paining spleen : that

he dreamt, if he opened a certain vein, between two of his fingers, he should be cured: which he awaked, did, and mended. But indeed I would rather believe this, than be drawn to practise after it. These plain predictions are more rare foretellings, used to be lapped in more obscure folds: and now, that art lost, Christianity hath settled us to less inquisition; it is for a Roman soothsayer to read those darker spirits of the night, and tell that still Dictator, his dream of his mother signified his subjecting the world to himself. 'Tis now so out of use, that I think it not to be recovered. And were it not for the power of the Gospel, in crying down the vanity of men, it would appear a wonder, how a science so pleasing to humanity, should fall so quite to ruin.—*Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political.*

OF IMPROVING BY GOOD EXAMPLES

THERE is no man but for his own interest hath an obligation to be honest. There may be sometimes temptations to be otherwise; but, all cards cast up, he shall find it the greatest ease, the highest profit, the best pleasure, the most safety, and the noblest fame, to hold the horns of this altar, which, in all assays, can in himself protect him. And though in the march of human life, over the stage of this world, a man shall find presented sometimes examples of thriving vice, and several opportunities to invite him upon a seeming advantage to close with unhandsome practices: yet every man ought so to improve his progress in what is just and right, as to be able to discern the fraud and feigned pleasurableness of the bad,

and to choose and follow what is good and warrantable. If any man shall object that the world is far more bad than good, so that the good man shall be sure to be overpowered by the evil, the case is long since resolved by Antisthenes, that 'tis better with a few good men to fight against an army of bad, than with swarms and shoals of bad men to have a few good men his enemies. And surely this was it which raised up David to that bravery of spirit which made him profess, that though an host were pitched against him, yet should not his heart be afraid. He that is entirely and genuinely honest is the figure and representation of the Deity, which will draw down a protection upon it against all the injuries of any that shall dare to abuse it. There is a kind of talismanical influence in the soul of such. A more immediate impress of the Divinity is printed on the spirits of these, than all the scattered herd of looser minds are capable of. The rays of heaven do more perpendicularly strike upon the minds of these, whereby they have both assimilation to God, propensity to good, and defence against injury; and it not only obligeth men not to do wrong, but to make amends if wrong be done: and to dispense with benefits to ourselves, if in the least they shall bring detriment to others. So that a man ought not only to restore what is unduly gotten, or unawares let slip by others, but to seek out how we may do right. Thus if I find a treasure, and know not him that lost it, I owe my endeavour to search and find him out, that it may be again restored. It is truly said by St. Augustine, *Quod invenisti et non reddidisti, rapuisti.* He steals the thing he finds, that labours

not to restore it. If he does not restore it, 'tis enough, that he does not do it, only because he cannot.

And although no man be privileged to swerve from what is honest, yet some men have, by much, more obligation to be so than others. They have tasted of higher dispensations, been more deterred by judgement, more gained upon by mercies, or are illuminated with more radiant knowledge, whereby they better understand than others, wherein to be so. And indeed without knowledge 'tis impossible to understand wherein to do right. Though the best knowledge a man hath be a light so dimly burning that it hardly shows him to see clearly all the cobwebs and foul corners in his affairs, yet ignorance is an opaceous thing, and, if not a total darkness, yet such an eclipse as makes us apt to stumble and puts us to grope out our way.

And besides all these there are some that have more reason to be honest than others, as having found dealings from others that, like fire brought nearer, warms their conscience more, and not only would be evidence and conviction against them if they did wrong, but stirs them up to do right.

And truly, I shall not blush to tell my reader, that in the number of these I look upon myself as concerned. Should I fail of being honest, when advantage should be in my hand, I should not only be upbraided but condemned by two especial passages that happened to myself; which, for the rarity, may beget my pardon that here I set them down to be known. One was:

An unknown porter brings to me to my lodging a box sealed up and on the outside directed to

myself. I inquired from whom he had it. He told me, a gentleman that was a stranger to him, and whose name or residence he knew not, gave it him in the street, and gave him 6*d.* to deliver it safely; which now he had done, and having discharged his part, he could give me no further account. I opened the box, where the first thing I met with was a note written in a hand I knew not, without any name subscribed, in these very following words:

'Mr. Owen Feltham, It was my hap in some dealing with you to wrong you of five pounds, which I do now repay double, humbly entreating you to forgive me that great wrong, and to pray the Lord to forgive me this, and the rest of my sins.'

And under this note, folded in another paper in the same box, were ten twenty-shilling pieces in gold. I cannot call to mind that ever I was deceived of such a sum as five pounds in any kind of dealing, nor to this hour can I so much as guess at the person from whom it came. But I believe he did it to disburthen a conscience. And surely, if I knew him, I should return him an esteem suitable to the merit of so pious an action. And since he would not let me know his name to value him as he deserved, I have presumed to recite the thing, that others, from the sense of it, may learn to be honest, and himself reap the benefit that may happen by so good an example.

This perhaps might be from some one that not only professed but practised piety, and the rules of honest living. And though I could not expect so much should be found among those that pretend not so high in religion, yet to show that even in looser callings, and as well now, as in our Saviour's

time, some (reckoned among publicans and sinners) may go to Heaven before the captious and the critical censorist; if we shall judge by exterior demeanour, as the rule that's given us; I shall beg leave to give my reader this second story, which was thus.

Going with some gentlewomen to a play at Salisbury Court, I cast into the woman's box who sat at the door to receive the pay, as I thought, so many shillings as we were persons in number; so we passed away, went in, and sat out the play. Returning out the same way, the woman that held the box as we went in was there again as we went out; neither I, nor any of my company knew her, or she us; but as she had observed us going in, she addresses to me, and says, 'Sir, do you remember what money you gave me as you went in?' 'Sure,' said I, 'as I take it, I gave you twelve pence apiece for myself and these of my company.' 'Aye, Sir,' replies she, 'that you did, and something more; for here is an eleven-shilling piece of gold that you gave me instead of a shilling; and if you please to give me twelve pence for it, 'tis as much as I can demand.' Here had been, if the woman had been so minded, though a little, yet a secure, prize. But, as many do probably conjecture that Zaccheus, who made restitution to the shame of the obdurate Jews, was a Gentile as well as a publican, so this from one of a calling in disrepute and suspected, may not only instruct the more precise of garb and form of honesty, but show us that in any vocation, a man may take occasion to be just and faithful. And let no man wonder that a person thus dealt withal, and lessoned into his duty by

the practice of others to him, joined with his other obligations to goodness, be hereby prevailed upon to a greater care of his own uprightness and integrity, than perhaps, without finding these, might have been. I will not have the vanity to say these passages have rendered me better, nor am I ashamed to confess, that I have sometime remembered them with profit. Sure I am they ought not to lose their influence nor to pass unheeded when they shall reflect on ourselves. He that means to be a good limner will be sure to draw after the most excellent copies, and guide every stroke of his pencil by the better pattern that he lays before him; so he that desires that the table of his life may be fair, will be careful to propose the best examples, and will never be content till he equals or excels them.—*Resolves.*

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

1605–1682

OF SCHISM

That heresies should arise we have the prophecy of Christ; but that old ones should be abolished we hold no prediction. That there must be heresies, is true, not only in our Church, but also in any other: even in doctrines heretical there will be super-heresies, and Arians not only divided from their Church, but also among themselves: for heads that are disposed unto schism and complexionally propense to innovation, are naturally indisposed for a community, nor will

ever be confined unto the order or economy of one body; and therefore when they separate from others they knit but loosely among themselves; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their Church, do subdivide and mince themselves almost into atoms. 'Tis true, that men of singular parts and humours have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining something not only beside the opinion of his own Church or any other, but also any particular author: which notwithstanding a sober judgement may do without offence or heresy; for there is yet, after all the decrees of councils and the niceties of the schools, many things untouched, unimagined, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate with security and far without the circle of an heresy.—*Religio Medici.*

OF FAITH

As for those wingy mysteries in divinity, and airy subtleties in religion, which have unhinged the brains of better heads, they never stretched the *pia mater* of mine; methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith; the deepest mysteries ours contains, have not only been illustrated, but maintained by syllogism, and the rule of reason: I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved enigmas and riddles of the Trinity, with incarnation and resurrection. I can answer all the objections of Satan, and my rebellious reason, with that odd

resolution I learned of Tertullian, *Certum est quia impossibile est.* I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point, for to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith, but persuasion. Some believe the better for seeing Christ his Sepulchre, and when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the miracle. Now contrarily I bless myself, and am thankful that I lived not in the days of miracles, that I never saw Christ nor his disciples; I would not have been one of those Israelites that passed the Red Sea, nor one of Christ's patients, on whom He wrought his wonders; then had my faith been thrust upon me, nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that believe and saw not. 'Tis an easy and necessary belief to credit what our eye and sense hath examined: I believe he was dead, and buried, and rose again; and desire to see him in his glory, rather than to contemplate him in his cenotaph, or sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe, as we have reason, we owe this faith unto history: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who lived before his coming, who upon obscure prophecies and mystical types could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities.—*Religio Medici.*

OF AMBITION AND FAME

Now since these dead bones have already outlasted the living ones of Methuselah, and in a yard under ground, and thin walls of clay, outworn all the strong and specious buildings above it; and quietly rested under the drums and tramplings of three conquests: what prince

can promise such diuturnity unto his relics, or might not gladly say,

Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim ?[1]

Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments.

In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation, and obscurity their protection. If they died by violent hands, and were thrust into their urns, these bones become considerable, and some old philosophers would honour them, whose souls they conceived most pure, which were thus snatched from their bodies, and to retain a stronger propension unto them; whereas they weariedly left a languishing corpse, and with faint desires of reunion. If they fell by long and aged decay, yet wrapped up in the bundle of time, they fall into indistinction, and make but one blot with infants. If we begin to die when we live, and long life be but a prolongation of death, our life is a sad composition; we live with death, and die not in a moment. How many pulses made up the life of Methuselah, were work for Archimedes: common counters sum up the life of Moses his man. Our days become considerable, like petty sums, by minute accumulations; where numerous fractions make up but small round numbers; and our days of a span long, make not one little finger.[2]

If the nearness of our last necessity brought

[1] Would that I were turned into bones!

[2] 'According to the ancient arithmetic of the hand, wherein the little finger of the right hand contracted

a nearer conformity into it, there were a happiness in hoary hairs, and no calamity in half-senses. But the long habit of living indisposeth us for dying: when avarice makes us the sport of death, when even David grew politicly cruel, and Solomon could hardly be said to be the wisest of men. But many are too early old, and before the date of age. Adversity stretcheth our days, misery makes Alcmena's nights,[1] and time hath no wings unto it. But the most tedious being is that which can unwish itself, content to be nothing, or never to have been, which was beyond the malcontent of Job, who cursed not the day of his life, but his nativity; content to have so far been, as to have a title to future being, although he had lived here but in a hidden state of life, and as it were an abortion.

What song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions,[2] are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead, and slept with princes and counsellors, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above antiquarism; not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the provincial guardians, or tutelary observators. Had they made as good

signified an hundred.' [Most of the author's notes have been omitted. Those retained are enclosed in quotation marks.]

[1] 'One night as long as three.'

[2] 'The puzzling questions of Tiberius unto grammarians.'

provision for their names, as they have done for their relics, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration. Vain ashes which in the oblivion of names, persons, times, and sexes, have found unto themselves a fruitless continuation, and only arise unto late posterity, as emblems of mortal vanities, antidotes against pride, vainglory, and madding vices. Pagan vainglories which thought the world might last for ever, had encouragement for ambition, and, finding no *atropos*[1] unto the immortality of their names, were never damped with the necessity of oblivion. Even old ambitions had the advantage of ours, in the attempts of their vainglories, who acting early, and before the probable meridian of time, have by this time found great accomplishment of their designs, whereby the ancient heroes have already outlasted their monuments, and mechanical preservations. But in this latter scene of time, we cannot expect such mummies unto our memories, when ambition may fear the prophecy of Elias,[2] and Charles the Fifth can never hope to live within two Methuselahs of Hector.[3]

And therefore, restless inquietude for the diuturnity of our memories unto present considerations seems a vanity almost out of date, and superannuated piece of folly. We cannot hope to live so long in our names, as some have done

[1] That one of the three 'Fates' who cut the thread of life.

[2] 'That the world may last but six thousand years.'

[3] 'Hector's fame lasting above two lives of Methuselah, before that famous prince was extant.'

in their persons. One face of Janus[1] holds no proportion unto the other. 'Tis too late to be ambitious. The great mutations of the world are acted, or time may be too short for our designs. To extend our memories by monuments, whose death we daily pray for, and whose duration we cannot hope, without injury to our expectations in the advent of the last day, were a contradiction to our beliefs. We whose generations are ordained in this setting part of time, are providentially taken off from such imaginations; and, being necessitated to eye the remaining particle of futurity, are naturally constituted unto thoughts of the next world, and cannot excusably decline the consideration of that duration, which maketh pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment.

Circles and right lines limit and close all bodies, and the mortal right-lined circle[2] must conclude and shut up all. There is no antidote against the opium of time, which temporally considereth all things: our fathers find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors. Gravestones tell truth scarce forty years. Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. To be read by bare inscriptions like many in Gruter,[3] to hope for eternity by enigmatical epithets or first letters of our names, to be studied by antiquaries, who we were, and have new names given us like

[1] Guardian of gates. Represented with two faces, looking toward the past and the future.

[2] 'The character of death.'

[3] Jan Gruter, author of a book on ancient inscriptions.

many of the mummies,[1] are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages.

To be content that times to come should only know there was such a man, not caring whether they knew more of him, was a frigid ambition in Cardan;[2] disparaging his horoscopal inclination and judgement of himself. Who cares to subsist like Hippocrates's patients, or Achilles's horses in Homer, under naked nominations, without deserts and noble acts, which are the balsam of our memories, the *entelechia*[3] and soul of our subsistences? To be nameless in worthy deeds, exceeds an infamous history. The Canaanitish woman lives more happily without a name, than Herodias with one. And who had not rather have been the good thief, than Pilate?

But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Who can but pity the founder of the pyramids? Herostratus lives that burnt the temple of Diana, he is almost lost that built it. Time hath spared the epitaph of Adrian's horse, confounded that of himself. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations, and Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon. Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not

[1] 'Which men show in several countries, giving them what names they please; and unto some the names of the old Egyptians kings, out of Herodotus.'

[2] Sixteenth century Italian philosopher.

[3] *Actual being*, as distinguished from *capacity for being*.

more remarkable persons forgot, than any that stand remembered in the known account of time? Without the favour of the everlasting register, the first man had been as unknown as the last, and Methuselah's long life had been his only chronicle.

Oblivion is not to be hired. The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man. Twenty-seven names make up the first story,[1] and the recorded names ever since contain not one living century. The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, and who knows when was the equinox? Every hour adds unto that current arithmetic, which scarce stands one moment. And since death must be the Lucina[2] of life, and even Pagans[3] could doubt, whether thus to live were to die; since our longest sun sets at right descensions, and makes but winter arches, and therefore it cannot be long before we lie down in darkness, and have our light in ashes;[4] since the brother of death daily haunts us with dying mementos, and time that grows old in itself, bids us hope no long duration; diuturnity is a dream and folly of expectation.

Darkness and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living beings; we slightly remember our felicities, and the smartest strokes of affliction

[1] i.e. before the flood.
[2] Goddess of childbirth.
[3] 'Euripides.'
[4] 'According to the custom of the Jews, who place a lighted wax-candle in a pot of ashes by the corpse.'

leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities; miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which notwithstanding is no unhappy stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come, and forgetful of evils past, is a merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil days, and, our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions. A great part of antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls,—a good way to continue their memories, while, having the advantage of plural successions, they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and enjoying the fame of their passed selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others, rather than be lost in the uncomfortable night of nothing, were content to recede into the common being, and make one particle of the public soul of all things, which was no more than to return into their unknown and divine original again. Egyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies in sweet consistencies, to attend the return of their souls. But all was vanity, feeding the wind, and folly. The Egyptian mummies, which Cambyses or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummy is become merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams.

In vain do individuals hope for immortality, or any patent from oblivion, in preservations below the moon; men have been deceived even in their flatteries, above the sun, and studied conceits to

perpetuate their names in heaven. The various cosmography of that part hath already varied the names of contrived constellations; Nimrod is lost in Orion, and Osiris in the Dog-star. While we look for incorruption in the heavens, we find they are but like the earth;—durable in their main bodies, alterable in their parts; whereof, beside comets and new stars, perspectives begin to tell tales, and the spots that wander about the sun, with Phaeton's favour, would make clear conviction.

There is nothing strictly immortal, but immortality. Whatever hath no beginning, may be confident of no end (all others have a dependent being and within the reach of destruction); which is the peculiar of that necessary Essence that cannot destroy itself; and the highest strain of omnipotency, to be so powerfully constituted as not to suffer even from the power of itself. But the sufficiency of Christian immortality frustrates all earthly glory, and the quality of either state after death makes a folly of posthumous memory. God who can only destroy our souls, and hath assured our resurrection, either of our bodies or names hath directly promised no duration. Wherein there is so much of chance, that the boldest expectants have found unhappy frustration; and to hold long subsistence, seems but a scape in oblivion. But man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature.

Life is a pure flame, and we live by an invisible sun within us. A small fire sufficeth for life, great

flames seemed too little after death, while men vainly affected precious pyres, and to burn like Sardanapalus; but the wisdom of funeral laws found the folly of prodigal blazes, and reduced undoing fires unto the rule of sober obsequies, wherein few could be so mean as not to provide wood, pitch, a mourner, and an urn.

Five languages secured not the epitaph of Gordianus.[1] The man of God lives longer without a tomb than any by one, invisibly interred by angels, and adjudged to obscurity, though not without some marks directing human discovery. Enoch and Elias, without either tomb or burial, in an anomalous state of being, are the great examples of perpetuity, in their long and living memory, in strict account being still on this side death, and having a late part yet to act upon this stage of earth. If in the decretory term of the world we shall not all die but be changed, according to received translation, the last day will make but few graves; at least quick resurrections will anticipate lasting sepultures. Some graves will be opened before they be quite closed, and Lazarus be no wonder. When many that feared to die, shall groan that they can die but once, the dismal state is the second and living death, when life puts despair on the damned; when men shall wish the coverings of mountains, not of monuments, and annihilation shall be courted.

While some have studied monuments, others have studiously declined them, and some have been so vainly boisterous, that they durst not acknowledge their graves; wherein Alaricus

[1] 'In Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Egyptian, Arabic, defaced by Licinius the emperor.'

seems most subtle, who had a river turned to hide his bones at the bottom. Even Sylla, that thought himself safe in his urn, could not prevent revenging tongues, and stones thrown at his monument. Happy are they whom privacy makes innocent, who deal so with men in this world, that they are not afraid to meet them in the next; who, when they die, make no commotion among the dead, and are not touched with that poetical taunt of Isaiah.[1]

Pyramids, arches, obelisks, were but the irregularities of vainglory, and wild enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolution rests in the Christian religion, which trampleth upon pride, and sits on the neck of ambition, humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity, unto which all others must diminish their diameters, and be poorly seen in angles of contingency.[2]

Pious spirits who passed their days in raptures of futurity, made little more of this world than the world that was before it, while they lay obscure in the chaos of preordination, and night of their fore-beings. And if any have been so happy as truly to understand Christian annihilation, ecstasies, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the kiss of the spouse, gustation of God, and ingression into the divine shadow,[3] they have already had an handsome anticipation of heaven; the glory of the world is surely over, and the earth in ashes unto them.

[1] 'Isa. xiv. 16, &c.'

[2] '*Angulus contingentiae*, the least of angles.'

[3] 'Christian . . . divine shadow'—terms and phrases characteristic of the speculations of Christian mystics.

To subsist in lasting monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names and predicament of chimeras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their Elysiums. But all this is nothing in the metaphysics of true belief. To live, indeed, is to be again ourselves, which being not only an hope, but an evidence in noble believers, 'tis all one to lie in St. Innocent's [1] churchyard, as in the sands of Egypt. Ready to be anything, in the ecstasy of being ever, and as content with six foot as the *moles* of Adrianus.[2]—*Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial.*

SLEEP

But the quincunx of heaven runs low, and 'tis time to close the five ports of knowledge. We are unwilling to spin out our awaking thoughts into the phantasms of sleep, which often continueth precogitations; making cables of cobwebs, and wildernesses of handsome groves. Beside Hippocrates hath spoke so little, and the oneirocritical masters have left such frigid interpretations from plants, that there is little encouragement to dream of Paradise itself. Nor will the sweetest delight of gardens afford much comfort in sleep; wherein the dullness of that sense shakes hands with delectable odours; and though in the bed of Cleopatra, can hardly with any delight raise up the ghost of a rose.

Night, which Pagan theology could make the daughter of Chaos, affords no advantage to the

[1] 'In Paris, where bodies soon consume.'

[2] 'A stately mausoleum or sepulchral pile, built by Adrianus in Rome, where now standeth the castle of St. Angelo.'

description of order; although no lower than that mass can we derive its genealogy. All things began in order, so shall they end, and so shall they begin again; according to the ordainer of order and mystical mathematics of the city of heaven.

Though Somnus in Homer be sent to rouse up Agamemnon, I find no such effects in these drowsy approaches of sleep. To keep our eyes open longer, were but to act our Antipodes. The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia. But who can be drowsy at that hour which freed us from everlasting sleep? or have slumbering thoughts at that time, when sleep itself must end, and as some conjecture all shall awake again?—*The Garden of Cyrus.*

THOMAS FULLER

1608–1661

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Francis Drake was born nigh South Tavistock in Devon, and brought up in Kent; God dividing the honour betwixt two counties, that the one might have his birth, and the other his education. His father, being a minister, fled into Kent for fear of the Six Articles, wherein the sting of Popery still remained in England, though the teeth thereof were knocked out, and the pope's supremacy abolished. Coming into Kent, he bound his son Francis apprentice to the master of a small bark, which traded into France and

Zealand, where he underwent a hard service; and pains with patience in his youth did knit the joints of his soul, and made them more solid and compacted. His master dying unmarried, in reward of his industry bequeathed his bark unto him for a legacy.

For some time he continued his master's profession. But the narrow seas were a prison for so large a spirit, born for greater undertakings. He soon grew weary of his bark, which would scarce go alone but as it crept along by the shore; wherefore selling it he unfortunately ventured most of his estate with Captain John Hawkins into the West Indies, whose goods were taken by the Spaniards at St. John de Ulva, and he himself scarce escaped with life. The King of Spain, being so tender in those parts, that the least touch doth wound him, and so jealous of the West Indies, his wife, that willingly he would have none look upon her, and therefore used them with the greater severity.

Drake was persuaded by the minister of his ship that he might lawfully recover in value of the King of Spain, and repair his losses upon him anywhere else. The case was clear in sea-divinity, and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit. Whereupon Drake, though a poor private man, hereafter undertook to revenge himself on so mighty a monarch; who, as not contented that the sun riseth and setteth in his dominions, may seem to desire to make all his own where he shineth. And now let us see how a dwarf, standing on the mount of God's providence, may prove an overmatch for a giant.

After two or three several voyages to gain intelligence in the West Indies, and some prizes taken, at last he effectually set forward from Plymouth with two ships, the one of seventy, the other twenty-five tons, and seventy-three men and boys in both. He made with all speed and secrecy to Nombre de Dios, as loath to put the town to too much charge, which he knew they would willingly bestow, in providing beforehand for his entertainment; which city was then the granary of the West Indies, wherein the golden harvest brought from Panama was hoarded up till it could be conveyed into Spain. They came hard aboard the shore, and lay quiet all night, intending to attempt the town in the dawning of the day.

But he was forced to alter his resolution and assault it soon; for he heard his men muttering amongst themselves of the strength and greatness of the town: and when men's heads are once flyblown with buzzes of suspicion, the vermin multiply instantly, and one jealousy begets another. Wherefore he raised them from their nest before they had hatched their fears, and to put away those conceits, he persuaded them it was day-dawning when the moon rose, and instantly set on the town, and won it, being unwalled. In the market-place the Spaniards saluted them with a volley of shot; Drake returned their greeting with a flight of arrows, the best and ancient English compliment, which drove their enemies away. Here Drake received a dangerous wound, though he valiantly concealed it a long time, knowing if his heart stooped, his men's would fall, and loath to leave off the action, wherein if so bright an opportunity once setteth it seldom riseth again. But at

length his men forced him to return to his ship, that his wound might be dressed, and this unhappy accident defeated the whole design. Thus victory sometimes slips through their fingers, who have caught it in their hands.

But his valour would not let him give over the project as long as there was either life or warmth in it. And therefore having received intelligence from the negroes, called Symerons, of many mules' lading of gold and silver, which was to be brought from Panama, he, leaving competent numbers to man his ships, went on land with the rest, and bestowed himself in the woods by the way as they were to pass, and so intercepted and carried away an infinite mass of gold. As for the silver, which was not portable over the mountains, they digged holes in the ground and hid it therein.

There want not those who love to beat down the price of every honourable action, though they themselves never mean to be chapmen. These cry up Drake's fortune herein, to cry down his valour, as if this his performance were nothing, wherein a golden opportunity ran his head, with his long forelock, into Drake's hands beyond expectation. But certainly his resolution and unconquerable patience deserved much praise, to adventure on such a design, which had in it just no more probability than what was enough to keep it from being impossible: yet I admire not so much at all the treasure he took, as at the rich and deep mine of God's providence.

Having now full freighted himself with wealth, and burnt at the House of Crosses above two hundred thousand pounds worth of Spanish merchandise, he returned with honour and safety

into England, and some years after undertook that his famous voyage about the world, most accurately described by our English authors: and yet a word or two thereof will not be amiss.

Setting forward from Plymouth, he bore up for Cape Verd, where, near to the island of St. Jago, he took prisoner Nuno da Silva, an experienced Spanish pilot, whose direction he used in the coasts of Brazil and Magellan Straits, and afterward safely landed him at Guatulco in New Spain. Hence they took their course to the island of Brava, and hereabouts they met with those tempestuous winds, whose only praise is, that they continue not an hour, in which time they change all the points of the compass. Here they had great plenty of rain, poured, not as in other places, as it were out of sieves, but as out of spouts, so that a butt of water falls down in a place: which, notwithstanding, is but a courteous injury in that hot climate far from land, and where otherwise fresh water cannot be provided: then, cutting the line, they saw the face of that heaven which earth hideth from us, but therein only three stars of the first greatness; the rest few and small compared to our hemisphere, as if God, on purpose, had set up the best and biggest candles in that room wherein his civilest guests are entertained.

Sailing the south of Brazil, he afterwards passed the Magellan Straits, and then entering *Mare Pacificum*, came to the southermost land at the height of $55\frac{1}{2}$ latitudes; thence directing his course northwards, he pillaged many Spanish towns, and took rich prizes of high value in the kingdoms of Chili, Peru, and New Spain. Then bending eastwards he coasted China and the

Moluccas, where, by the king of Terrenate, a true gentleman pagan, he was most honourably entertained. The king told them they and he were all of one religion in this respect, that they believed not in gods made of stocks and stones as did the Portuguese. He furnished them also with all necessaries that they wanted.

On the 9th of January following (1579), his ship having a large wind and a smooth sea, ran aground on a dangerous shoal, and struck twice on it, knocking twice at the door of death, which no doubt had opened the third time. Here they stuck from eight o'clock at night till four the next afternoon, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on, and water too much and yet too little to sail in. Had God, *who*, as the wise man saith (Prov. xxx. 4), *holdeth the winds in his fist*, but opened his little finger, and let out the smallest blast, they had undoubtedly been cast away, but there blew not any wind all the while. Then they conceiving aright that the best way to lighten the ship was first to ease it of the burthen of their sins by true repentance, humbled themselves by fasting under the hand of God. Afterwards they received the Communion, dining on Christ in the Sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with him in heaven. Then they cast out of their ship six great pieces of ordnance, threw overboard as much wealth as would break the heart of a miser to think on it, with much sugar, and packs of spices, making a caudle of the sea round about. Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift indeed, and it pleased God that the wind, formerly their mortal enemy, became their friend, which, changing from

the starboard to the larboard of the ship, and rising by degrees, cleared them off to the sea again, for which they returned unfeigned thanks to Almighty God.

By the Cape of Good Hope and west of Africa he returned safe into England, and landed at Plymouth, being almost the first of those that made a thorough light through the world, having in his whole voyage, though a curious searcher after the time, lost one day through the variation of several climates. He feasted the queen in his ship at Dartford, who knighted him for his service: yet it grieved him not a little, that some prime courtiers refused the gold he offered them, as gotten by piracy. Some of them would have been loath to have been told that they had *aurum tholosanum* in their own purses. Some think that they did it to show that their envious pride was above their covetousness, who of set purpose did blur the fair copy of his performance, because they would not take pains to write after it.

I pass by his next West Indian voyage (1585) wherein he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine in Florida: as also his service performed in 1588, wherein he, with many others, helped to the waning of that half-moon which sought to govern all the motion of our sea. I haste to his last voyage in 1595.

Queen Elizabeth, perceiving that the only way to make the Spaniard a cripple for ever was to cut his sinews of war in the West Indies, furnished Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins with six of her own ships, besides twenty-one ships and barks of their own providing, containing in all 2,500 men and boys, for some service on America.

But alas! this voyage was marred before begun. For so great preparations being too big for a cover, the King of Spain knew of it and sent a caraval of adviso to the West Indies; so that they had intelligence three weeks before the fleet set forth of England, either to fortify or to remove their treasure; whereas in other of Drake's voyages not two of his own men knew whither he went; and managing such a design is like carrying a mine in war: if it hath any vent all is spoiled. Besides, Drake and Hawkins being in joint-commission hindered each other. The latter took himself to be inferior rather in success than skill; and the action was unlike to prosper, when neither would follow, and both could not handsomely go abreast. It vexed old Hawkins that his counsel was not followed, in present sailing to America, but that they spent time in vain in assaulting the Canaries; and the grief that his advice was slighted, say some, was the cause of his death. Others impute it to the sorrow he took for the taking of his bark called the *Francis*, which five Spanish frigates had intercepted. But when the same heart hath two mortal wounds given it together, 'tis hard to say which of them killeth.

Drake continued his course for Porto Rico, and, riding within the road, a shot from the castle entered the steerage of the ship, took away the stool from under him as he sat at supper, wounded Sir Nicholas Clifford and Brute Brown to death. 'Ah dear Brute,' said Drake, 'I could grieve for thee, but now is no time for me to let down my spirits.' And indeed a soldier's most proper bemoaning his friend's death in war is in revenging it. And sure, as if grief had made the English

furious, they soon after fired five Spanish ships, of two hundred tons apiece in despite of the castle.

America is not unfitly resembled to an hour-glass, which hath a narrow neck of land (suppose it the hole where the sand passeth) betwixt the parts thereof, Mexicana and Peruvana. Now the English had a design to march by land over this isthmus from Porto Rico to Panama, where the Spanish treasure was laid up. Sir Thomas Baskervile, general of the land-forces, undertook the service with seven hundred and fifty armed men. They marched through deep ways, the Spaniards much annoying them with shot out of the woods. One fort in the passage they assaulted in vain, and heard two others were built to stop them, besides Panama itself. They had so much of this breakfast, they thought they should surfeit of a dinner and supper of the same. No hope of conquest except with cloying the jaws of death, and thrusting men on the mouth of the cannon. Wherefore, fearing to find the proverb true, that gold may be bought too dear, they returned to their ships. Drake afterwards fired Nombre de Dios, and many other petty towns, whose treasures the Spaniards had conveyed away, burning the empty casks, when their precious liquor was run out before, and then prepared for their returning home.

Great was the difference betwixt the Indian cities now from what they were when Drake first haunted these coasts. At first the Spaniards here were safe and secure, counting their treasure sufficient to defend itself, the remoteness thereof being the greatest, almost only, resistance, and the fetching of it more than the fighting for it. Whilst the King of Spain guarded the head and

heart of his dominions in Europe he left his long legs in America open to blows, till, finding them to smart, being beaten black and blue by the English, he learned to arm them at last, fortifying the most important of them to make them impregnable.

Now began Sir Francis Drake his discontent to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation, a merciless usurer, computing each day since his departure, exacted an interest and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and transcending his former achievements. He saw that all the good which he had done in this voyage, consisted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying if not causing the disease of the flux, wrought his sudden death. And sickness did not so much untie his clothes, as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus an extempore performance, scarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended, comes off with better applause, or miscarries with less disgrace, than a long-studied and openly premeditated action. Besides, we see how great spirits, having mounted to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards strain and break their credits in striving to go beyond it. Lastly, God oftentimes leaves the brightest men in an eclipse, to show that they do but borrow their lustre from his reflection. We will not justify all the actions of any man, though of a tamer profession than a sea-captain, in whom civility is often counted preciseness. For the main, we say that this our

captain was a religious man towards God and his houses, generally sparing churches where he came, chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, and merciful to those that were under him, hating nothing so much as idleness. And therefore lest his soul should rust in peace, at spare hours he brought fresh water to Plymouth. Careful he was for posterity, though men of his profession have as well an ebb for riot as a float of fortune, and providently raised a worshipful family of his kindred. In a word, should those that speak against him fast till they fetch their bread where he did his, they would have a good stomach to eat it.—*Holy and Profane State.*

THE GOOD SCHOOLMASTER

There is scarce any profession in the commonwealth more necessary, which is so slightly performed. The reasons whereof I conceive to be these: First, Young scholars make this calling their refuge; yea, perchance, before they have taken any degree in the University, commence schoolmasters in the country, as if nothing else were required to set up this profession but only a rod and a ferula. Secondly, Others who are able, use it only as a passage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their present fortune, till they can provide a new one, and betake themselves to some more gainful calling. Thirdly, They are disheartened from doing their best with the miserable reward which in some places they receive, being masters to the children, and slaves to their parents. Fourthly, Being grown rich, they grow negligent, and scorn to touch the

school, but by the proxy of the usher. But see how well our schoolmaster behaves himself.

1. *His genius inclines him with delight to his profession.* Some men had as lieve be schoolboys as schoolmasters, to be tied to the school as Cooper's *Dictionary* and Scapula's *Lexicon* are chained to the desk therein; and though great scholars, and skilful in other arts, are bunglers in this: but God of his goodness hath fitted several men for several callings, that the necessity of church and state, in all conditions, may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabric thereof may say, God hewed out this stone, and appointed it to lie in this very place, for it would fit none other so well, and here it doth most excellent. And thus God mouldeth some for a schoolmaster's life, undertaking it with desire and delight, and discharging it with dexterity and happy success.

2. *He studieth his scholars' natures as carefully as they their books*; and ranks their dispositions into several forms. And though it may seem difficult for him in a great school to descend to all particulars, yet experienced schoolmasters may quickly make a grammar of boys' natures, and reduce them all, saving some few exceptions, to these general rules:

1. Those that are ingenious and industrious. The conjunction of two such planets in a youth presage much good unto him. To such a lad a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea, where their master whips them once, shame whips them all the week after. Such natures he useth with all gentleness.
2. Those that are ingenious and idle. These

think, with the hare in the fable, that, running with snails (so they count the rest of their schoolfellows), they shall come soon enough to the post, though sleeping a good while before their starting. Oh, a good rod would finely take them napping!

3. Those that are dull and diligent. Wines, the stronger they be, the more lees they have when they are new. Many boys are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age, and such afterwards prove the best. Bristol diamonds are both bright, and squared and pointed by nature, and yet are soft and worthless; whereas orient ones in India are rough and rugged naturally. Hard, rugged, and dull natures of youth acquit themselves afterwards the jewels of the country, and therefore their dullness at first is to be borne with, if they be diligent. That schoolmaster deserves to be beaten himself, who beats nature in a boy for a fault. And I question whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts which are naturally sluggish, rise one minute before the hour nature hath appointed.
4. Those that are invincibly dull, and negligent also. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never set a razor's edge on that which hath no steel in it. Such boys he consigneth over to other professions. Shipwrights and boatmakers will choose those crooked pieces of timber which other carpenters refuse. Those may make excellent merchants and mechanics which will not serve for scholars.

3. *He is able, diligent, and methodical in his teaching;* not leading them rather in a circle than forwards. He minces his precepts for children to swallow, hanging clogs on the nimbleness of his own soul, that his scholars may go along with him.

4. *He is, and will be known to be, an absolute monarch in his school.* If cockering mothers proffer him money to purchase their sons an exemption from his rod (to live as it were in a peculiar, out of their master's jurisdiction) with disdain he refuseth it, and scorns the late custom in some places of commuting whipping into money, and ransoming boys from the rod at a set price. If he hath a stubborn youth, correction-proof, he debaseth not his authority by contesting with him, but fairly if he can puts him away before his obstinacy hath infected others.

5. *He is moderate in inflicting deserved correction.* Many a schoolmaster better answereth the name παιδοτρίβης than παιδαγωγός, rather tearing his scholars' flesh with whipping, than giving them good education. No wonder if his scholars hate the Muses, being presented unto them in the shapes of fiends and furies. Junius complains *de insolenti carnificina* of his schoolmaster, by whom *conscindebatur flagris septies aut octies in dies singulos.* Yea, hear the lamentable verses of poor Tusser in his own life :

> From Pauls I went, to Eton sent,
> To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
> Where fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had.
> For fault but small, or none at all,
> It came to pass thus beat I was ;
> See, Udal, see the mercy of thee
> To me, poor lad

Such an Orbilius mars more scholars than he makes. Their tyranny hath caused many tongues to stammer, which spake plain by nature, and whose stuttering at first was nothing else but fears quavering on their speech at their master's presence; and whose mauling them about their heads hath dulled those who in quickness exceeded their master.

6. *He makes his school free to him who sues to him* in forma pauperis. And surely learning is the greatest alms that can be given. But he is a beast, who because the poor scholar cannot pay him his wages, pays the scholar in his whipping. Rather are diligent lads to be encouraged with all excitements to learning. This minds me of what I have heard concerning Mr. Bust, that worthy late schoolmaster of Eton, who would never suffer any wandering begging scholar (such as justly the statute hath ranked in the forefront of rogues) to come into his school, but would thrust him out with earnestness, however privately charitable unto him, lest his schoolboys should be disheartened from their books, by seeing some scholars after their studying in the University preferred to beggary.

7. *He spoils not a good school to make thereof a bad college,* therein to teach his scholars logic. For besides that Logic may have an action of trespass against Grammar for encroaching on her liberties, syllogisms are solecisms taught in the school, and oftentimes they are forced afterwards in the University to unlearn the fumbling skill they had before.

8. *Out of his school he is no whit pedantical in carriage or discourse,* contenting himself to be rich

in Latin, though he doth not jingle with it in every company wherein he comes.

To conclude, let this amongst other motives make schoolmasters careful in their place, that the eminences of their scholars have commended the memories of their schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond in Lancashire but for the breeding of learned Ascham his scholar? or of Hartgrave in Brundly school in the same county, but because he was the first did teach worthy Dr. Whitaker? Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for anything so much as for his scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrewes. This made the Athenians, the day before the great feast of Theseus their founder, to sacrifice a ram to the memory of Conidas his schoolmaster that first instructed him.—*Holy and Profane State.*

DESIGN OF THE *WORTHIES OF ENGLAND*

England may not unfitly be compared to an house not very great, but convenient, and the several shires may properly be resembled to the rooms thereof. Now as learned Master Camden and painful Master Speed with others have described the rooms themselves, so it is our intention, God willing, to describe the furniture of those rooms; such eminent commodities which every county doth produce, with the persons of quality bred therein, and some other observables coincident with the same subject.

Cato that great and grave philosopher did commonly demand, when any new project was

propounded unto him, *Cui bono?* what good would ensue in case the same was effected. A question more fit to be asked than facile to be answered in all undertakings, especially in the setting forth of new books, insomuch that they themselves who complain that they are too many already, help daily to make them more.

Know then, I propound five ends to myself in this book. First, to gain some glory to God. Secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead. Thirdly, to present examples to the living. Fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight. And lastly, which I am not ashamed publicly to profess, to procure some honest profit to myself. If not so happy to obtain all, I will be joyful to attain some, yea, contented and thankful too, if gaining any, especially the first, of these ends, the motives of my endeavours.

First, Glory to God, which ought to be the aim of all our actions, though too often our bow starts, our hand shakes, and so our arrow misseth the mark. Yet I hope that our describing so good a land, with the various fruits and fruitful varieties therein, will engage both writer and reader in gratitude to that God, who hath been so bountiful to our nation. In order whereunto I have not only always taken but often sought occasions, to exhort to thankfulness; hoping the same will be interpreted no straggling from my subject but a closing with my calling.

Secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead. A good name is an ointment poured forth, smelt where it is not seen. It hath been the lawful desire of men in all ages to perpetuate their memories, thereby in some sort revenging them-

selves of mortality, though few have found out effectual means to perform it. For monuments made of wood are subject to be burnt; of glass, to be broken; of soft stone, to moulder; of marble and metal, (if escaping the teeth of time) to be demolished by the hand of covetousness; so that in my apprehension, the safest way to secure a memory from oblivion is (next his own virtues) by committing the same in writing to Posterity.

Thirdly, to present examples to the living, having here precedents of all sorts and sizes; of men famous for valour, wealth, wisdom, learning, religion, and bounty to the public, on which last we most largely insist. The scholar being taxed by his writing-master for idleness in his absence, made a fair defence when pleading that his master had neither left him paper whereon or copy whereby to write. But rich men will be without excuse, if not expressing their bounty in some proportion, God having provided them paper enough ('the poor you have always with you') and set them signal examples, as in our ensuing work will plainly appear.

Fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight. I confess the subject is but dull in itself, to tell the time and place of men's birth, and deaths, their names, with the names and number of their books, and therefore this bare skeleton of time, place, and person, must be fleshed with some pleasant passages. To this intent I have purposedly interlaced (not as meat, but as condiment) many delightful stories, that so the reader if he do not arise, which I hope and desire, *religiosior* or *doctior*, with more piety or learning, at least he

may depart *jucundior*, with more pleasure and lawful delight.

Lastly, to procure moderate profit to myself in compensation of my pains. It was a proper question which plain-dealing Jacob pertinently propounded to Laban his father-in-law: 'And now when shall I provide for mine house also?' Hitherto no stationer hath lost by me, hereafter it will be high time for me (all things considered) to save for myself.

The matter following may be divided into *real* and *personal*, though not according to the legal acception of the words. By *real* I understand the commodities and observables of every county; by *personal* the characters of those worthy men who were natives thereof.—*History of the Worthies of England.*

BEN JONSON

Benjamin Jonson was born in this city [Westminster]. Though I cannot, with all my industrious inquiry, find him in his cradle, I can fetch him from his long coats. When a little child, he lived in Hartshorn Lane near Charing Cross, where his mother married a bricklayer for her second husband.

He was first bred in a private school in St. Martin's Church; then in Westminster School; witness his own epigram:

> Camden, most reverend head, to whom I owe
> All that I am in arts, all that I know;
> How nothing's that to whom my country owes
> The great renown and name wherewith she goes, &c.

He was statutably admitted into Saint John's College in Cambridge (as many years after incorporated a honorary member of Christ Church in Oxford), where he continued but few weeks for want of further maintenance, being fain to return to the trade of his father-in-law. And let not them blush that have, but those that have not, a lawful calling. He helped in the building of the new structure of Lincoln's Inn, when, having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket.

Some gentlemen, pitying that his parts should be buried under the rubbish of so mean a calling, did by their bounty manumise him freely to follow his own ingenious inclinations. Indeed his parts were not so ready to run of themselves, as able to answer the spur; so that it may be truly said of him, that he had an elaborate wit wrought out by his own industry. He would sit silent in learned company and suck in (besides wine) their several humours into his observation. What was *ore* in others, he was able to refine to himself.

He was paramount in the dramatic part of poetry, and taught the stage an exact conformity to the laws of comedians. His comedies were above the *volge* (which are only tickled with downright obscenity), and took not so well at the first stroke as at the rebound, when beheld the second time; yea, they will endure reading, and that with due commendation, so long as either ingenuity or learning are fashionable in our nation. If his later be not so spriteful and vigorous as his first pieces, all that are old will, and all that desire to be old should, excuse him therein.

He was not very happy in his children, and most happy in those which died first, though none lived

to survive him. This he bestowed as part of an epitaph on his eldest son, dying in infancy:

> Rest in soft peace ; and, ask'd, say here doth lye,
> Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry.

He died anno Domini 1638; and was buried about the belfry, in the abbey church at Westminster.—*History of the Worthies of England.*

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON

1609–1674

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

John Felton, an obscure person, who had been bred a soldier, and lately a lieutenant of a foot company whose captain had been killed upon the retreat at the Isle of Rhé, upon which he conceived that the company of right ought to have been conferred upon him, and it being refused to him by the Duke of Buckingham, general of the army, he had given up his commission of lieutenant and withdrawn himself from the army. He was of a melancholic nature, and had little conversation with anybody, yet of a gentleman's family in Suffolk of good fortune and reputation. From the time that he had quitted the army, he resided in London; when the House of Commons, transported with passion and prejudice against the Duke of Buckingham, had accused him to the House of Peers for several misdemeanours and miscarriages, and in

some declaration had styled him, 'the cause of all the evils the kingdom suffered, and an enemy to the public,' some transcripts of such expressions (for the late licence of printing all mutinous and seditious discourses was not yet in fashion), and some general invectives he met with amongst the people, to whom that great man was not grateful, wrought so far upon this melancholic gentleman, that, by degrees and (as he said upon some of his examinations) by frequently hearing some popular preachers in the city (who were not yet arrived at the presumption and impudence they have been since transported with), he believed he should do God good service if he killed the duke; which he shortly after resolved to do. He chose no other instrument to do it with than an ordinary knife, which he bought of a common cutler for a shilling: and thus provided he repaired to Portsmouth, where he arrived the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke was then there, in order to the preparing and making ready the fleet and the army, with which he resolved in few days to transport himself to the relief of Rochelle, which was then straitly besieged by the cardinal of Richelieu, and for relief whereof the duke was the more obliged by reason that at his being at the Isle of Rhé he had received great supplies of victual and some companies of their garrison from that town, the want of both which they were at this time very sensible of and grieved with.

This morning of St. Bartholomew the duke had received letters in which he was advertised that Rochelle had relieved itself; upon which he directed that his breakfast might speedily be made ready, and he would make haste to acquaint the

King with the good news, the Court being then at Southwick, the house of Sir Daniel Norton, five miles from Portsmouth. The chamber wherein he was dressing himself was full of company of persons of quality and officers of the fleet and army.

There was Monsieur de Sobiez [Soubize], brother to the Duke of Rohan, and other French gentlemen, who were very solicitous for the embarkation of the army, and for the departure of the fleet for the relief of Rochelle; and they were at this time in much trouble and perplexity, out of apprehension that the news the duke had received that morning might slacken the preparations for the voyage, which their impatience and interest persuaded were not advanced with expedition; and so they had then held much discourse with the duke of the impossibility that his intelligence could be true, and that it was contrived by the artifice and dexterity of their enemies in order to abate the warmth and zeal that was used for their relief, the arrival of which they had so much reason to apprehend; and a little longer delay in sending it would ease them of that terrible apprehension, their forts and works toward the sea and in the harbour being almost finished.

And this discourse, according to the natural custom of that nation and by the usual dialect of that language, was held with that passion and vehemence that the standers by, who understood not French, did believe that they were very angry, and that they used the duke very rudely. He being ready, and informed that his breakfast was ready, drew towards the door, where the hangings were held up; and, in the very passage, turning

himself to speak with Sir Thomas Fryer, a colonel of the army, who was then speaking near his ear, he was on the sudden struck over his shoulder upon the breast with a knife; upon which, without using any other words but that 'The villain hath killed me', and in the same moment pulling out the knife himself, he fell down dead, the knife having pierced his heart.

No man had seen the blow or the man who made it; but, in the confusion they were in, every man made his own conjectures and declared it as a thing known; most agreeing that it was done by the French, from the angry discourse they thought they heard from them. And it was a kind of a miracle that they were not all killed in that instant; the soberer sort that preserved them from it having the same opinion of their guilt, and only reserving them for a more judicial examination and proceeding.

In the crowd near the door there was found upon the ground a hat, in the inside whereof there was sewed upon the crown a paper in which were writ four or five lines of that declaration made by the House of Commons in which they had styled the duke an enemy to the kingdom, and under it a short ejaculation or two towards a prayer. It was easily enough concluded that the hat belonged to the person who had committed the murder: but the difficulty remained still as great who that person should be, for the writing discovered nothing of the name; and whosoever it was, it was very natural to believe that he was gone far enough not to be found without a hat.

In this hurry, one running one way, another another way, a man was seen walking before the

door very composedly without a hat; whereupon one crying out, 'Here is the fellow that killed the Duke!' upon which others ran thither, every body asking, 'Which is he? Which is he?' To which the man without the hat very composedly answered, 'I am he.' Thereupon some of those who were most furious suddenly ran upon the man with their drawn swords to kill him; but others, who were at least equally concerned in the loss and in the sense of it, defended him; himself with open arms very calmly and cheerfully exposing himself to the fury and swords of the most enraged, as being very willing to fall a sacrifice to their sudden anger, rather than to be kept for that deliberate justice which he knew must be exercised upon him.

He was now known enough, and easily discovered to be that Felton, whom we mentioned before, who had been a lieutenant in the army. He was quickly carried into a private room by the persons of the best condition, some whereof were in authority, who first thought fit so far to dissemble as to mention the duke only as grievously wounded, but not without hope of recovery. Upon which Felton smiled, and said, he knew well he had given him a blow that had determined all those hopes. Being then asked (which was the discovery principally aimed at) by whose instigation he had performed that horrid and wicked act, he answered them with a wonderful assurance, that they should not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit or power enough in him to have engaged or disposed him to such an action; that he had never intrusted his purpose and resolution to any man; that it proceeded only

from himself and the impulsion of his own conscience; and that the motives thereunto would appear if his hat were found, in which he had therefore fixed them because he believed it very probable that he might perish in the attempt. He confessed that he had come to the town but the night before, and had kept his lodging that he might not be seen or taken notice of; and that he had come that morning to the duke's lodging, where he had waited at the door for his coming out; and when he found by the motions within that he was coming, he drew to the door, as if he held up the hanging; and Sir Thomas Fryer speaking at that time to the duke, as hath been said, and being of a much lower stature than the duke, who a little inclined towards him, he took the opportunity of giving the blow over his shoulder.

He spake very frankly of what he had done, and bore the reproaches of those who spake to him with the temper of a man who thought he had not done amiss. But after he had been in prison some time, where he was treated without any rigour and with humanity enough, and before, and at, his trial, which was about four months after, at the King's Bench bar, he behaved himself with great modesty and wonderful repentance, being, as he said, convinced in his conscience that he had done wickedly, and asked the pardon of the King, the duchess, and of all the duke's servants, whom he acknowledged to have offended; and very earnestly besought the judges that he might have his hand struck off with which he had performed that impious act, before he should be put to death.

The Court was too near Portsmouth, and too

many courtiers upon the place, to have this murder (so wonderful in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in England in many ages) long concealed from the King. His Majesty was at the public prayers of the church, when Sir John Epsly [Hippesly] came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and, without any pause in respect to the exercise they were performing, went directly to the King and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His Majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till prayers were ended; when he suddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion and with abundance of tears the loss he had of an excellent servant and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him; and he continued in this melancholic and discomposure of mind many days.

Yet the manner of his receiving the news in public, when it was first brought to him in the presence of so many (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expressed upon his retreat), made many men to believe that the accident was not very ungrateful; at least, that it was very indifferent to him; as being rid of a servant very ungracious to the people, and the prejudice to whose person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in Parliament for his service.

And upon this observation persons of all conditions took great licence in speaking of the person of the duke, and dissecting all his infirmities, believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the King. In which they took very ill measures; for from that time almost to the

time of his own death the King admitted very few into any degree of trust who had ever discovered themselves to be enemies to the duke, or against whom he had ever manifested a notable prejudice. And sure never any prince manifested more a most lively regret for the loss of a servant than his Majesty did for this great man, in his constant favour and kindness to his wife and children, in a wonderful solicitous care for the payment of his debts (which, it is very true, were contracted for his service, though in such a manner that there remained no evidence of it, nor was any of the duke's officers intrusted with the knowledge of it, nor was there any record of it but in his Majesty's own generous memory), and in all offices of grace towards his servants.—*History of the Rebellion.*

AN ACCOUNT OF A PREDICTION OF THE DUKE'S DEATH

There were many stories scattered abroad at that time of several prophecies and predictions of the duke's untimely and violent death. Amongst the rest there was one which was upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon. There was an officer [Nich. Towse] in the King's wardrobe in Windsor Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more. This man had in his youth been bred in a school in the parish where Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cherished and obliged in that season of his age by the said Sir George, whom afterwards he never saw. About six months before the miserable end

of the Duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windsor, where his office was, and in very good health, there appeared to him on the side of his bed a man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his eyes upon him, asked him if he knew him. The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension, being asked the second time whether he remembered him, and having in that time called to his memory the presence of Sir George Villiers, and the very clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered that he thought him to be that person. He replied, he was in the right; that he was the same, and that he expected a service from him; which was, that he should go from him to his son the Duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not do somewhat to ingratiate himself to the people, or, at least, to abate the extreme malice they had against him, he would be suffered to live [but] a short time. And after this discourse he disappeared; and the poor man, if he had been at all waking, slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

The next night, or shortly after, the same person appeared to him again in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before, and asked him whether he had done as he had required him: and perceiving he had not, gave him very sharp reprehensions; told him, he expected more compliance from him; and that, if he did not perform his commands he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should be always pursued by him; upon which he

promised him to obey him. But the next morning, waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing still to persuade himself that he had only dreamed; and considered that he was a person at such a distance from the duke that he knew not how to find any admission to his presence, much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say. And so, with great trouble and unquietness, he spent some time in thinking what he should do, and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

The same person appeared to him the third time, with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor man had by this time recovered the courage to tell him, That in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands upon considering how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any access to the duke, having acquaintance with no person about him; and if he could obtain admission to him, he should never be able to persuade him that he was sent in such a manner, but he should at best be thought to be mad, or to be set on and employed, by his own or the malice of other men, to abuse the duke; and so he should be sure to be undone. The person replied, as he had done before, That he should never find rest till he should perform what he required; and therefore he were better to despatch it: that the access to his son was known to be very easy, and that few men waited long for him: and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never

to mention to any person living but to the duke himself; and he should no sooner hear them, but he would believe all the rest he should say; and so, repeating his threats, he left him.

And in the morning the poor man, more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London, where the Court then was. He was very well known to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the Masters of Requests, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himself well received by him. To him this man went; and though he did not acquaint him with all particulars, he said enough to him to let him see there was somewhat extraordinary in it, and the knowledge he had of the sobriety and discretion of the man made the more impression in him. He desired that by his means he might be brought to the duke, to such a place and in such a manner as should be thought fit: that he had much to say to him, and of such a nature as would require much privacy, and some time and patience in the hearing. Sir Ralph promised he would speak first with the duke of him, and then he should understand his pleasure; and accordingly, in the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honesty of the man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter. The duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him that he was the next day early to hunt with the King; that his horses should attend him at Lambeth Bridge, where he would land by five of the clock in the morning; and if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk and speak with him as long as should be necessary. Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next

morning, and presented him to the duke at his landing, who received him courteously, and walked aside in conference near an hour, none but his own servants being at that hour in that place, and they and Sir Ralph at such a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the duke sometimes spoke, and with great commotion; which Sir Ralph the more easily observed and perceived because he kept his eyes always fixed upon the duke, having procured the conference upon somewhat he knew there was of extraordinary. And the man told him in his return over the water, that when he mentioned those particulars which were to gain him credit, the substance whereof he said he durst not impart to him, the duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come to that knowledge only by the devil, for that those particulars were only known to himself, and to one person more, who, he was sure, would never speak of it.

The duke pursued his purpose of hunting; but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon; and before the morning was spent left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall, with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours, the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those who attended in the next rooms: and when the duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble with a mixture of anger; a countenance that was never before observed in him in any encounters with her: towards her he had ever a most profound reverence. And the countess herself (for though she was married to a private gentleman, Sir Thomas Compton, [she

had been created Countess of Buckingham, shortly after her son had first assumed that title) was at the duke's leaving her found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth that when the news of the duke's murder (which happened within few months after) was brought to his mother, she seemed not in the least degree surprised, but received it as if she had foreseen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son.—*History of the Rebellion.*

CHARACTER OF THE DUKE

This great man was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments, as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King. He understood the arts and artifices of a court, and all the learning that is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who, he knew, would be always looked upon as the workmanship of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception, and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige; from which much

of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his actions, and his contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation; and especially in his whole demeanour at the Isle of Rhé, both at the landing and upon the retreat: in both which no man was more fearless, or more ready to expose himself to the brightest dangers. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that it was as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would. And it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to a reconciliation. And yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular. And in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge (the low method of courts), that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office, before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity, that the person found it in his power to receive further satisfaction, in the way he would choose for himself.

And in this manner he proceeded with the Earl of Oxford, a man of great name in that time, and whom he had endeavoured by many civil offices to make his friend, and who seemed equally to incline to the friendship: when he discovered (or, as

many thought, but suspected) that the earl was entered into some cabal in Parliament against him; he could not be dissuaded by any of his friends, to whom he imparted his resolution; but meeting the earl the next day, he took him aside, and after many reproaches for such and such ill offices he had done, and for breaking his word towards him, he told him, 'he would rely no longer on his friendship, nor should he expect any further friendship from him, but, on the contrary, he would be for ever his enemy, and do him all the mischief he could.' The earl (who, as many thought, had not been faulty towards him, was as great-hearted as he, and thought the very suspecting him to be an injury unpardonable), and without any reply to the particulars, declared, 'that he neither cared for his friendship, nor feared his hatred'; and from thence avowedly entered into the conversation and confidence of those who were always awake to discover, and solicitous to pursue, any thing that might prove to his disadvantage; which was of evil consequence to the duke, the earl being of the most ancient of the nobility, and a man of great courage, and of a family which had in no time swerved from its fidelity to the Crown.

Sir Francis Cottington, who was secretary to the Prince, and not grown courtier enough to dissemble well his opinion, had given the duke offence before the journey into Spain, as is before touched upon, and improved that prejudice, after his coming thither, by disposing the Prince all he could to the marriage of the Infanta; and by his behaviour after his return, in justifying to King James, who had a very good opinion of him, the sincerity of the Spaniard in the treaty of the marriage, that

they did in truth desire it, and were fully resolved to gratify his Majesty in the business of the Palatinate; and only desired, in the manner of it, to gratify the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria all they could, which would take up very little time. All which being so contrary to the duke's positions and purposes, his displeasure to Cottington was sufficiently manifest, and King James was no sooner dead, and the new officers and orders made, but the profits and privileges which had used to be continued to him who had been secretary, till some other promotion, were all retrenched. And when he was one morning attending in the privy lodgings, as he was accustomed to do, one of the Secretaries of State came to him, and told him, 'that it was the King's pleasure that he should no more presume to come into those rooms' (which was the first instance he had received of the King's disfavour); and at the same instant the duke entered into that quarter. Upon which Sir Francis Cottington addressed himself towards him, and desired 'he would give him leave to speak to him': upon which the duke inclining his ear, moved to a window from the company, and the other told him, 'that he received every day fresh marks of his severity'; mentioned the message which had been then delivered to him, and desired only to know, 'whether it could not be in his power, by all dutiful application, and all possible service, to be restored to the good opinion his grace had once vouchsafed to have of him, and to be admitted to serve him?' The duke heard him without the least commotion, and with a countenance serene enough, and then answered him, 'That he would deal very clearly with him; that it was utterly impossible to bring

that to pass which he had proposed: that he was not only firmly resolved never to trust him, or to have to do with him; but that he was, and would be always, his declared enemy; and that he would do always whatever should be in his power to ruin and destroy him, and of this he might be most assured'; without mentioning any particular ground for his so heightened displeasure.

The other very calmly replied to him (as he was master of an incomparable temper), 'That since he was resolved never to do him good, that he hoped, from his justice and generosity, that he would not suffer himself to gain by his loss; that he had laid out by his command so much money for jewels and pictures, which he had received: and that, in hope of his future favour, he had once presented a suit of hangings to him, which cost him £800, which he hoped he would cause to be restored to him, and that he would not let him be so great a loser by him.' The duke answered, 'he was in the right; that he should the next morning go to Oliver (who was his receiver), and give him a particular account of all the money due to him, and he should presently pay him'; which was done the next morning accordingly, without the least abatement of any of his demands.

And he was so far reconciled to him before his death, that being resolved to make a peace with Spain, to the end he might more vigorously pursue the war with France (to which his heart was most passionately fixed), he sent for Cottington to come to him, and after conference with him, told him, 'the King would send him ambassador thither, and that he should attend him at Portsmouth for his despatch.'

His single misfortune was (which indeed was productive of many greater), that he never made a noble and a worthy friendship with a man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passion; which was partly the vice of the time, when the Court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men; and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and looked upon his youth, and his obscurity, as obligations upon him to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was so quick, that it seemed rather a flight than a growth; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was seen at the bottom, for the gradation of his titles was the effect, not cause, of his first promotion; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to Court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not all at first which he obtained afterwards; never meeting with the least obstruction from his setting out, till he was as great as he could be: so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him, and were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great: insomuch as he was throughout his fortune a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had.

Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may very reasonably be believed, that, if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had

been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendent worthy actions, as any man who shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe. For he was of an excellent nature, and of a capacity very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known, that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing. And though he left a very great inheritance to his heirs; considering the vast fortune he inherited by his wife, the sole daughter and heir of Francis Earl of Rutland, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two kings his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles, and the one [as much] above other men, as the other was. And he considered it no otherwise than as theirs, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almost to the value of it, as is touched upon before.

If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he was charged, and is a weed (if it be a weed) apt to grow in the best soils; it doth not appear that it was in his nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air. Nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for a healthy man to sit in the sun in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters.

History of the Rebellion.

STRAFFORD'S ATTAINDER: THE KING'S DILEMMA AND STRAFFORD'S DEATH

THE Earl of Bedford secretly undertook to his Majesty, that the Earl of Strafford's life should be preserved; and to procure his revenue to be settled, as amply as any of his progenitors, the which he intended so really, that, to my knowledge, he had it in design to endeavour the setting up the excise in England, as the only natural means to advance the king's profit. He fell sick within a week after the bill of attainder was sent up to the Lords' House; and died shortly after, much afflicted with the passion and fury which he perceived his party inclined to: insomuch as he declared, to some of near trust with him, 'that he feared the rage and madness of this Parliament would bring more prejudice and mischief to the kingdom, than it had ever sustained by the long intermission of parliaments.' He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, for want of resolution, of being carried into violent ones, if his advice would not have been submitted to: and therefore many, who knew him well, thought his death not unseasonable, as well to his fame, as his fortune; and that it rescued him as well from some possible guilt, as from those visible misfortunes, which men of all conditions have since undergone.

As soon as the Earl of Bedford was dead, the Lord Say (hoping to receive the reward of the treasurership) succeeded him in his undertaking and faithfully promised the King, 'that he should not be pressed in the matter of the Earl of Strafford's life': and under that promise got credit

enough to persuade his Majesty to whatsoever he told was necessary to that business. And thereupon, when the bill was depending with the Lords, and when there was little suspicion that it would pass, though the House of Commons every day by messages endeavoured to quicken them, he persuaded the King 'to go to the House of Peers, and, according to custom, to send for the House of Commons, and then to declare himself, that he could not, with the safety of a good conscience, ever give his consent to the bill that was there depending before them concerning the Earl of Strafford, if it should be brought to him, because he was not satisfied in the point of treason: but he was so fully satisfied that the earl was unfit ever to serve him more, in any condition of employment, that he would join with them in any Act, to make him utterly incapable of ever bearing office, or having any other employment in any of his Majesty's dominions: which he hoped would satisfy them.'

This advice, upon the confidence of the giver, the King resolved to follow: but when his resolution was imparted to the earl, he immediately sent his brother to him, beseeching his Majesty 'by no means to take that way, for that he was most assured it would prove very pernicious to him; and therefore desired, he might depend upon the honour and conscience of the Peers, without his Majesty's interposition.' The King told his brother, 'that he had taken that resolution by the advice of his best friends; but since he liked [it] not, he would decline it.' The next morning the Lord Say came again to him, and finding his Majesty altered in his intention, told him, 'if he

took that course he had advised him, he was sure it would prevail; but if he declined it, he could not promise his Majesty what would be the issue, and should hold himself absolutely disengaged from any undertaking.' The King observing his positiveness, and conceiving his intentions to be very sincere, suffered himself to be guided by him; and immediately went to the House, and said as the other had advised. Whether that lord did in truth believe the discovery of his Majesty's conscience in that manner would produce the effect he foretold, or whether he advised it treacherously, to bring on those inconveniences which afterwards happened, I know not: but many, who believed his will to be much worse than his understanding, had the uncharitableness to believe, that he intended to betray his master, and to put the ruin of the earl out of question.

The event proved very fatal; for the King no sooner returned from the House, than the House of Commons, in great passion and fury, declared this last act of his Majesty's to be 'the most unparalleled breach of privilege that had ever happened; that if his Majesty might take notice what bills were passing in either House, and declare his own opinion, it was to prejudge their counsels, and they should not be able to supply the commonwealth with wholesome laws, suitable to the diseases it laboured under; that this was the greatest obstruction of justice that could be imagined; that they, and whosoever had taken the late protestation, were bound to maintain the privileges of Parliament, which were now so grossly invaded and violated': with many other sharp discourses to that purpose.

The next day great multitudes of people came down to Westminster, and crowded about the House of Peers, exclaiming with great outcries, 'that they would have justice'; and publicly reading the names of those who had dissented from that bill in the House of Commons, as enemies to their country; and as any lord passed by, called *Justice, justice!* and with great rudeness and insolence, pressing upon, and thrusting, those lords whom they suspected not to favour that bill; professing aloud, 'that they would be governed and disposed by the honourable House of Commons, and would defend their privileges according to their late protestation.' This unheard-of act of insolence and sedition continued so many days, till many lords grew so really apprehensive of having their brains beaten out, that they absented themselves from the House; and others, finding what seconds the House of Commons was like to have to compass whatever they desired, changed their minds; and so in an afternoon, when of the fourscore who had been present at the trial, there were only six and forty lords in the House (the good people still crying at the doors for justice), they put the bill to the question, and eleven lords only dissenting, it passed that House, and was ready for the King's assent.

The King continued as resolved never to give his consent. The same oratory then attended him at Whitehall, which had prevailed at Westminster; and a rabble of many thousand people besieged that place, crying out, *Justice, justice; that they would have justice*; not without great and insolent threats and expressions, what they would do, if it were not speedily granted. The Privy Council

was called together, to advise what course was to be taken to suppress these traitorous riots. Instead of considering how to rescue their master's honour and his conscience from this infamous violence and constraint, they press the King to pass the bill of attainder, saying, 'there was no other way to preserve himself and his posterity than by so doing; and therefore that he ought to be more tender of the safety of the kingdom, than of any one person how innocent soever': not one counsellor interposing his opinion, to support his master's magnanimity and innocence: they who were of that mind, either suppressing their thoughts through fear, upon the new doctrine established then by the new councillors, 'that no man ought to presume to advise any thing in that place contrary to the sense of both Houses'; others sadly believing, the force and violence offered to the King would be, before God and man, a just excuse for whatsoever he should do.

His Majesty told them, 'that what was proposed to him to do, was in a diameter contrary to his conscience, and that being so, he was sure they would not persuade him to it, though themselves were never so well satisfied.' To that point, they desired him 'to confer with his bishops, who, they made no question, would better inform his conscience'. The archbishop of York was at hand; who, to his argument of conscience, told him, 'that there was a private and a public conscience; that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man: and that the question was not, whether he should save the Earl of Strafford, but, whether he should perish

with him : that the conscience of a king to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of a father to preserve his children (all which were now in danger), weighed down abundantly all the considerations the conscience of a master or a friend could suggest to him, for the preservation of a friend, or servant.' And by such unprelatical, ignominious arguments, in plain terms advised him, 'even for conscience sake, to pass that act.'

Though the bishop acted his part with more prodigious boldness and impiety, the other of the same function (of whose learning and sincerity the King and the world had greater reverence) did not what might have been expected from their calling or their trust ; but at least forbore to fortify and confirm a conscience, upon the courage and piety of which, themselves and their order did absolutely depend.

During these perplexities, the Earl of Strafford, taking notice of the straits the King was in, the rage of the people still increasing (from whence he might expect a certain outrage and ruin, how constant soever the King continued to him ; and, it may be, knowing of an undertaking—for such an undertaking there was—by a great person, who had then a command in the Tower, 'that if the King refused to pass the bill, to free the kingdom from the hazard it seemed to be in, he would cause his head to be stricken off in the Tower'), writ a most pathetical letter to the King, full of acknowledgement of his favours ; but lively presenting 'the dangers, which threatened himself and his posterity, by his obstinacy in those favours' ; and therefore by many arguments conjuring him 'no

longer to defer his assent to the bill, that so his death might free the kingdom from the many troubles it apprehended'.

The delivery of this letter being quickly known, new arguments were applied; 'that this free consent of his own clearly absolved the King from any scruple that could remain with him'; and so in the end they extorted from him, to sign a commission to some lords to pass the bill; which was as valid as if he had signed it himself; though they comforted him even with that circumstance, 'that his own hand was not in it.'

It may easily be said, that the freedom of the parliament, and his own negative voice, being thus barbarously invaded, that if his Majesty had, instead of passing that Act, come to the House and dissolved the Parliament; or if he had withdrawn himself from that seditious city, and put himself in the head of his own army; much of the mischief, which hath since happened, would have been prevented. But whoever truly considers the state of affairs at that time; the prevalency of that faction in both Houses; the rage and fury of the people; the use that was made by the schismatical preachers (by whom all the orthodox were silenced) of the late protestation in their pulpits; the fears and jealousies they had infused into the minds of many sober men, upon the discourse of the late plot; the constitution of the council-table, that there was not an honest man durst speak his conscience to the King, for fear of his ruin; and that those, whom he thought most true to him, betrayed him every hour, insomuch as his whispers in his bedchamber were instantly conveyed to those against whom those whispers were; so that he had

very few men to whom he could breathe his conscience and complaint, that were not suborned against him, or averse to his opinions: that on the other side, if some expedient were not speedily found out, to allay that frantic rage and combination in the people, there was reason enough to believe, their impious hands would be lifted up against his own person, and (which he much more apprehended) against the person of his royal consort; and lastly, that (besides the difficulty of getting thither except he would have gone alone) he had no ground to be very confident of his own army: I say, whoever sadly contemplates this, will find cause to confess, the part which the King had to act was not only harder than any prince, but than any private gentleman had been exposed to; and that it is much easier upon the accidents and occurrences which have since happened, to determine what was not to have been done, than at that time to have foreseen, by what means to have freed himself from the labyrinth in which he was involved.

All things being thus transacted, to conclude the fate of this great person, he was on the twelfth day of May brought from the Tower of London (where he had been a prisoner near six months) to the scaffold on Tower Hill; where, with a composed, undaunted courage, he told the people, 'he was come thither to satisfy them with his head; but that he much feared, the reformation which was begun in blood would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom as they expected, and he wished': and after great expressions 'of his devotion to the Church of England, and the Protestant religion established by law, and professed in that Church;

of his loyalty to the King, and affection to the peace and welfare of the kingdom'; with marvellous tranquillity of mind, he delivered his head to the block, where it was severed from his body at a blow: many of the standers by, who had not been over charitable to him in his life, being much affected with the courage and Christianity of his death.

Thus fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time when he led those people, who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature; not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other; for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. His first inclinations and addresses to the Court were only to establish his greatness in the country; where he apprehended some acts of power from the old Lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a Privy Councillor, and officer at Court: but his first attempts were so prosperous, that he contented not himself with being secure from his power in the country, but rested not, till he had bereaved him of all power and place in Court; and so sent him down, a most abject, disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendency over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North. These successes, applied to a nature too elate and arrogant of itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest employments

and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than happily he would have been, if he had met with some interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman.

He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgement, both into things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things: for it was his misfortune to be of a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him; and scarce any (but the Lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined) whose faculties and abilities were equal to his: so that upon the matter he wholly relied upon himself; and discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions, his pride was most predominant: which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed; and which was by the hand of Heaven strangely punished, by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and Sir Harry Vane. In a word, the epitaph, which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, may not be unfitly applied to him; 'that no man did ever pass him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies'; for his acts of both kinds were most exemplar and notorious.—*History of the Rebellion.*

IMPEACHMENT OF THE FIVE MEMBERS

In the afternoon of a day when the two Houses sat, Herbert, the King's attorney, informed the House of Peers that he had somewhat to say to

them from the King; and thereupon, having a paper in his hand, he said, that the King commanded him to accuse the Lord Kimbolton, a member of that House, and five gentlemen, who were all members of the House of Commons, of high treason; and that his Majesty had himself delivered him in writing several articles, upon which he accused them; and thereupon he read in a paper these ensuing articles, by which the Lord Mandeville, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Strode, stood accused of high treason, for conspiring against the King and the Parliament.

Articles of high treason, and other misdemeanours, against the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, John Hambden, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and William Strode, members of the House of Commons.

1. That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom; and deprive the King of his regal power; and to place on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2. That they have endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his Majesty, and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his Majesty odious to them.

3. That they have endeavoured to draw his Majesty's late army to disobedience to his Majesty's command, and to side with them in their traitorous design.

4. That they have traitorously invaded, and encouraged a foreign power to invade his Majesty's kingdom of England.

5. That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the very rights and beings of Parliament.

6. That, for the completing of their traitorous designs, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs, and, to that end, have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.

7. That they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied, war against the King.—*History of the Rebellion.*

THE ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS

The House of Peers was somewhat appalled at this alarum; but took time to consider of it, till the next day, that they might see how their masters the Commons would behave themselves; the Lord Kimbolton being present in the House, and making great professions of his innocence; and no lord being so hardy [as] to press for his commitment on the behalf of the King.

At the same time, a sergeant-at-arms demanded to be heard at the House of Commons from the King; and being sent for to the bar, demanded the persons of the five members to be delivered to him in his Majesty's name, his Majesty having accused them of high treason. But the Commons were not much surprised with the accident; for besides that they quickly knew what had passed with the Lords, some servants of the King's, by especial warrant, had visited the lodgings of some of the accused members, and sealed up their studies and trunks; upon information whereof, before the sergeant came to the House, or public notice was

taken of the accusation, an order was made by the Commons : ' That if any person whatsoever should come to the lodgings of any member of that House, and there offer to seal the doors, trunks, or papers of such members, or to seize upon their persons ; that then such members should require the aid of the next constable, to keep such persons in safe custody, till the House should give further order : that if any person whatsoever should offer to arrest or detain any member of that House, without first acquainting that House therewith, and receiving further order from thence ; that it should be lawful for such member to stand upon his guard, and make resistance, and [for] any person to assist him, according to the protestation taken to defend the privileges of Parliament.' And so, when the sergeant had delivered his message, he was no more called in ; but a message sent to the King, ' that the members should be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge should be preferred against them ' ; and so the House adjourned till the next day, every one of the accused persons taking a copy of that order, which was made for their security.

The next day in the afternoon, the King, attended only by his own guard, and some few gentlemen, who put themselves into their company in the way, came to the House of Commons ; and commanding all his attendants to wait at the door, and to give offence to no man ; himself, with his nephew, the Prince Elector, went into the House, to the great amazement of all : and the Speaker leaving the chair, the King went into it ; and told the House, ' he was sorry for that occasion of coming to them ; that yesterday he had sent his sergeant-at-arms to apprehend some, that, by his

command, were accused of high treason; whereunto he expected obedience, but instead thereof he had received a message. He declared to them, that no King of England had been ever, or should be, more careful to maintain their privileges, than he would be; but that in cases of treason no man had privilege; and therefore he came to see if any of those persons, whom he had accused, were there; for he was resolved to have them, wheresoever he should find them: and looking then about, and asking the Speaker whether they were in the House, and he making no answer, he said, he perceived the *birds were all flown*, but expected they should be sent to him, as soon as they returned thither; and assured them in the word of a King, that he never intended any force, but would proceed against them in a fair and legal way'; and so returned to Whitehall.

The accused persons, upon information and intelligence what his Majesty intended to do, how secretly soever it was carried at Court, having withdrawn from the House about half an hour before the King came thither; the House, in great disorder, as soon as the King was gone, adjourned till the next day in the afternoon; the Lords being in so great apprehension upon notice of the King's being at the House of Commons, that the Earl of Essex expressed a tender sense he had of the inconveniences which were like to ensue those divisions; and moved, 'that the House of Peers, as a work very proper for them, would interpose between the King and his people; and mediate to his Majesty on the behalf of the persons accused'; for which he was reprehended by his friends, and afterwards laughed at himself, when he found how much

a stronger defence they had, than the best mediation could prove on their behalf.

How secretly soever this affair was carried, it was evident that the King's [resolution of] coming to the House was discovered, by the members withdrawing themselves, and by a composedness, which appeared in the countenances of many, who used to be disturbed at less surprising occurrences; and though the purpose of accusing the members was only consulted between the King and the Lord Digby; yet it was generally believed, that the King's purpose of going to the House was communicated to William Murray of the bedchamber, with whom the Lord Digby had great friendship; and that it was betrayed by him. And that Lord, who had promised the King to move the House for the commitment of the Lord Kimbolton, as soon as the Attorney-General should have accused him (which if he had done would probably have raised a very hot dispute in the House, where many would have joined with him), never spake the least word; but, on the contrary, seemed the most surprised and perplexed with the Attorney's impeachment; and sitting at that time next to the Lord Kimbolton, with whom he pretended to live with much friendship, he whispered him in the ear with some commotion (as he had a rare talent in dissimulation), 'that the King was very mischievously advised; and that it should go very hard, but he would know whence that counsel proceeded; in order to which, and to prevent further mischief, he would go immediately to his Majesty'; and so went out of the House; whereas he was the only person who gave the counsel, named the persons, and particularly named the

Lord Kimbolton (against whom less could be said than against many others, and who was more generally beloved), and undertook to prove that he bade the rabble, when they were about the Parliament House, that they should go to Whitehall. And when he found the ill success of the impeachment in both Houses, and how unsatisfied all were with the proceeding, he advised the King the next morning to go to the Guildhall, and to inform the mayor and aldermen of the grounds of his proceeding; which will be mentioned anon. And that people might not believe, that there was any dejection of mind, or sorrow, for what was done; the same night, the same council caused a proclamation to be prepared for the stopping the ports; that the accused persons might not escape out of the kingdom; and to forbid all persons to receive and harbour them: when it was well known, that they were all together in a house in the city, without any fear of their security. And all this was done without the least communication with anybody, but the Lord Digby, who advised it; and, it is very true, was so willing to take the utmost hazard upon himself, that he did offer the King, when he knew in what house they were together, with a select company of gentlemen, who would accompany him, whereof Sir Thomas Lunsford was one, to seize upon them, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the place: but the King liked not such enterprises.

That night the persons accused removed themselves into their stronghold, the city: not that they durst not venture themselves at their old lodgings, for no man would have presumed to trouble them, but that the city might see, that

they relied upon that place for a sanctuary of their privileges against violence and oppression; and so might put on an early concernment for them. And they were not disappointed; for, in spite of all the lord mayor could do to compose their distempers (who, like a very wise and stout magistrate, bestirred himself), the city was that whole night in arms; some people, designed to that purpose, running from one gate to another, and crying out, 'that the *Cavaliers* were coming to fire the city'; and some saying, 'that the King himself was in the head of them.'

The next morning, the King, being informed of much that had passed that night, according to the advice he had received, sent to the lord mayor to call a Common Council immediately; and about ten of the clock, himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to the Guildhall; and in the room where the people were assembled, told them, 'he was very sorry to hear of the apprehensions they had entertained of danger; that he was come to them, to show how much he relied upon their affections for his security and guard, having brought no other with him; that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way; and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the city.' And using many other very gracious expressions of his value of them, and telling one of the sheriffs (who was of the two thought less inclined to his service), 'that he would dine with him,' he departed without that applause and cheerfulness which he might have expected from the extraordinary grace he vouchsafed to them; and in his passage through the city, the rude people flocking

together, and crying out, 'Privilege of Parliament, privilege of Parliament'; some of them pressing very near his own coach, and amongst the rest one calling out with a very loud voice, 'To your tents, O Israel.' However the King, though much mortified, continued his resolution, taking little notice of the distempers; and, having dined at the sheriff's, returned in the afternoon to Whitehall; and published, the next day, a proclamation for the apprehension of all those, whom he accused of high treason, forbidding any person to harbour them; the articles of their charge being likewise printed and dispersed.—*History of the Rebellion.*

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